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# West Europe Report

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21 April 1986

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POLITICAL

DENMARK

# SCHLUTER FACES CHALLENGE IN HOLDING CONSERVATIVE VOTERS

Copenhagen BORSENS NYHEDSMAGASIN in Danish 3 Mar 86 pp 24-26

[Article by Jorgen Gronnegard Christensen and John Wagner: "Conservatism--For All the People"; first paragraph is BORSENS NYHEDSMAGASIN introduction]

[Text] Poul Schluter's dilemma is that he must limit the deficit in the balance of payments and at the same time fulfill the wishes of his new voters for raises in their real wages. George Brown, British foreign minister 1966-68 said, "Progressive conservatism is about the same as driving a car with the brakes on."

The Conservative Party is on the way to the middle in Danish politics. In step with an increasing number of wage earners--including "correct" workers, for example 20 percent of the members of HK and 16 percent of the members of the Metal Workers Union--voting Conservative, the party has sent out new smoke signals.

It is not conservative politics with a capital C that they are talking about these days in Prime Minister Poul Schluter's party. On the contrary.

The most exciting subject for debate since the compromise intervention in the spring of 1985 has been how to avoid another economic intervention which could hurt all the new wage earners who feel drawn to Poul Schluter's moderate and progressive conservatism.

"I would rather have it so that my political opponents--and here I am thinking especially of the Social Democrats, who are on the other side of the middle line--must admit that we reach reasonable decisions. That applies also to our attitude toward the welfare state," said the prime minister to BORSENS NYHEDSMAGASIN on 23 September 1985.

That was a statement which was noticed in the inner circles. In the Liberal Party, which believes that the prime minister is too inclined to pay attention to how marginal voters will react to new initiatives. In the Social Democratic Party, which believes that Poul Schluter is on the decline. And in the Conservative Folketing group and the Conservative Party apparatus,

where they feel that they must continue the struggle to be the major popular party.

Following the completed struggle with the Progressive Party (and the Center Democrats, who also had borrowed a good portion of Conservative votes) the Conservative Party--including the prime minister--concentrated all of its political power on developing the old rightwing party into a real alternative to the Social Democrats--"into just as strong a popular movement," as the party chairman expressed it.

#### Anatomy of Success

The march of the voters has been incontrovertible. From 5.5 percent in January 1975, when Poul Hartling brought the Liberal Party a great victory, until 23.4 percent in January 1984. That is a development which compels respect, since only the latest election victory (from 14.5 percent in December 1981 to 23.4 in the last election) can be attributed to the prime minister effect.

The anatomy of success is a study of how two of the greatest strategic talents in Danish politics--Poul Schluter and Minister of Justice Erik Ninn Hansen--have saved a party on the way to the precipice. Twice.

The first change came in 1974 and 1975, when the party, weighted down by the VKR government's lack of merit, and the Progressive Party and Center Democrats emergence, took an enormous turn to the right. All the old conservative virtues were enthroned--and then came pure parliamentary fulfillment, when the Folketing group (minus Erik Haunstrup Clemmensen and Hans Jorgen Lembourn) failed to vote on the finance law.

The next change came a few years later, when the party--now with a foot in the door and a firm hold on traditional voter groups, independent businessmen and high-salaried officials--started a new struggle for influence and a broader voter basis. As in the middle of the 1960's, when the party with Poul Sorensen and Poul Moller at the head created a reasonably broad voter basis and at the same time--as a consequence and to protect that basis--entered into significant compromises (mostly in the days of the VKR government).

In reality it was the period of decline--in voter support as well as influence--in the mid-70's which deviated from the conditional structural development of the Conservative Party, and not the latest move toward the middle. So the question is whether the party will enter another decline. For the time being there have been no tendencies toward a migration to, for example, the Progressive Party or the Center Democrats, which often rumble with traditional conservative viewpoints such as hesitation at raising the rental value of owned houses.

It is also more probable that the Conservatives are vulnerable about development of the Social Democratic and Liberal Parties, as if it were the profile problems of these parties which have caused the Conservative Party's successes.

In any case the party must understand that only 11 years after the disastrous election of 1975 it still has a large percentage of "shifting sands" which could rapidly find a new home if these entirely new or new "old" Conservative voters again begin to notice the tightened income and finance policy in their own wallets, or if the economic reconstruction fails.

#### Patience Tested

So far, however, the new members of the Conservative Party have proved to be incredibly understanding toward the circumstances of the minority party and what it costs to be the largest (and leading) party in a government consisting of four parties.

Changes have taken place mostly within the area of taxes which are definitely not in accordance with original Conservative thought. Tax pressure has risen. The real interest fee was a Social Democratic discovery. The renewal of the interest deduction was not in accordance with traditional Conservative tax policies, and increases in corporate taxes have been a tear in the eye of business.

Attorney Kristian Mogensen, who often (and sometimes correctly) is called "the gray eminence" of the Conservative Party, said the other day to the party's newspaper VOR TID:

"I have sometimes told myself--and perhaps also told others--that I do not believe we should have done this. For example I believe that the government has gone too far with tax reform. I am concerned that in 1987 or 1988 there will be a negative reaction from the taxpayers. They are becoming disappointed. We have induced many of them to believe that they were going to pay less taxes, and I do not believe that they will. I am therefore afraid that the same thing is happening as when they promised pay-as-you-go tax reform, that everything would be easier, and there was talk of tax reductions. That turned out not to be the case, and there was disappointment. I am afraid that there will be a corresponding reaction in a couple of years."

Another principle area in which Conservative policies have not been followed is in foreign policy, mainly security policy--and until the prime minister "wrote out" the referendum on the "EC package"--market policy.

In the Conservative Folketing group, however, there are only a few who share Kristian Mogensen's concern. Some of them understand Poul Schluters decision to interpret the referendum as an indication that "we want no more of it," as the attorney put it. Some of them are much more worried about defections which can come if the wage earners (and they are 82 percent of the party's professionally active voters according to a survey by the Institute of Political Science at Aarhus University in 1984) leak away in protest against new encroachments.

And that is not without cause: For the time being it seems that a number of public employees who had turned back to the Conservative Party are on their way away again. The departures correspond, however--so far, at any rate--to

the greater influx of well-paid privately employed officials. This is shown by university analyses, but the tendency is also noticeable in the party--for example at a wage earner conference recently--that it is no longer unusual for publicly employed party members to complain about encroachment agreements and request arrangements similar to OD if private employees derive advantage from business surpluses.

It is reported from a Copenhagen voters league that the wage earners' dissatisfaction with the government's wage policy now exceeds business criticism of industrial policy.

There are 22 months before the next ordinary election--and considering an eventual economic tightening to limit the balance of payments deficit and the wage agreement negotiations this winter--it will be exciting to see how the Conservatives profile themselves in the coming months.

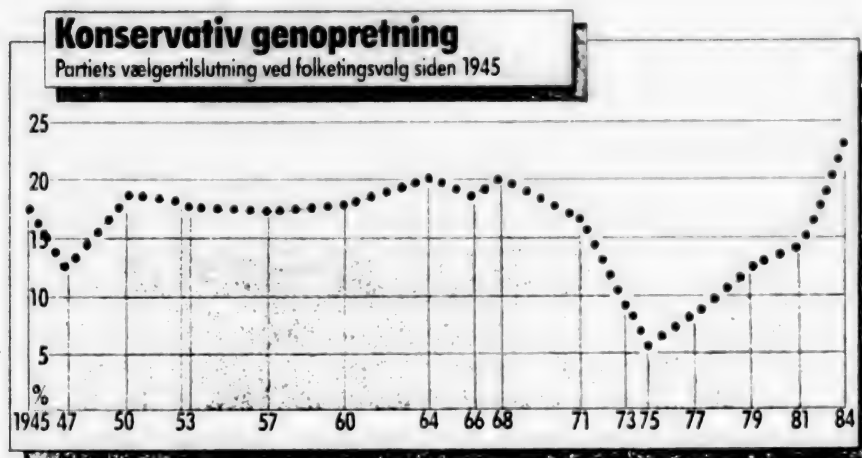
The dilemma of the large government party is that it postpones balancing the budget in order to coddle the public employees, that pay raises in the public sector will automatically cause wage creep in private business to the detriment of competitive ability, and that such developments will automatically jeopardize the so-called restoration. On the other hand it is doubtful whether the Conservative wage earners, who will no longer be hit in their own wallets, will be greatly concerned by a record deficit in the balance of payments.

In this way Poul Schluter's strategic ability is being given a serious test in the coming period. And he has previously demonstrated surprising resourcefulness with unsolvable problems. The referendum on the EC package, when he was at once successful in getting voter support for the government's market policy, avoiding a new election to the detriment of the Radical Liberal Party and the two smaller government parties, and creating a spectacular split in the Social Democratic Party, are only a few of many examples of the prime minister's negotiating power (and daring) when it really counts.

For the time being the finance minister (with his modernization plan, smoke signals about wage reform in the public sector and repeated assurances that there is no need here and now for tightening the financial policy) has hinted that a balance will be found between considerations of the balance of payments and compliance with the wage earners' demand for real wage advances.

It is not a coincidence that the most exciting subject for debate in Conservative circles these days is the attitude of public employees toward government policies.

The party is balancing on a tightrope between a new fiasco and a great success--in the national economy as well as in party politics.



Caption: Conservative Party Restoration. The party's voter support in Folketing elections since 1945.

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POLITICAL

DENMARK

ELECTIONS ANALYST: CONSERVATIVES GAINING BLUE COLLAR VOTE

Copenhagen BORSSENS NYHEDSMAGASIN in Danish 3 Mar 86 p 26

[Article by Svend Bie and John Wagner: "The Conservative 'Labor Party'"; first paragraph is BORSSENS NYHEDSMAGASIN introduction]

[Text] The Conservative and Social Democratic Parties are obtaining their voters from the same occupational groups, but the Conservatives have broader support.

The Conservative Party has never in its history obtained its votes from such a broad voter spectrum as now. That was confirmed by assistant professor Jorgen Goul Andersen of the Institute for Political Science at Aarhus University.

In the latest Folketing election 82 percent of the Conservatives' occupationally active voters were wage earners, and that percentage has not declined since then, according to Jorgen Goul Andersen. In comparison, only 60 percent of the Liberal Party's occupationally active voters were wage earners.

After the major downturn in the 1970's the Conservatives have now regained a position as a large wage earner party. And not only that: Where 7 percent of "correct" workers voted Conservative in 1971, today it is 15 percent of workers who mark a cross under column C. The figure is emphasized even more by the fact that today workers make up a smaller part of the population.

Jorgen Goul Andersen's investigation shows that public and private employees largely voted according to a pattern in 1971, but now they have entirely different preferences. Today there are significantly fewer higher officials employed in the public sector who vote Conservative than there were in 1971. On the other hand there are many more privately employed higher officials who now vote Conservative.

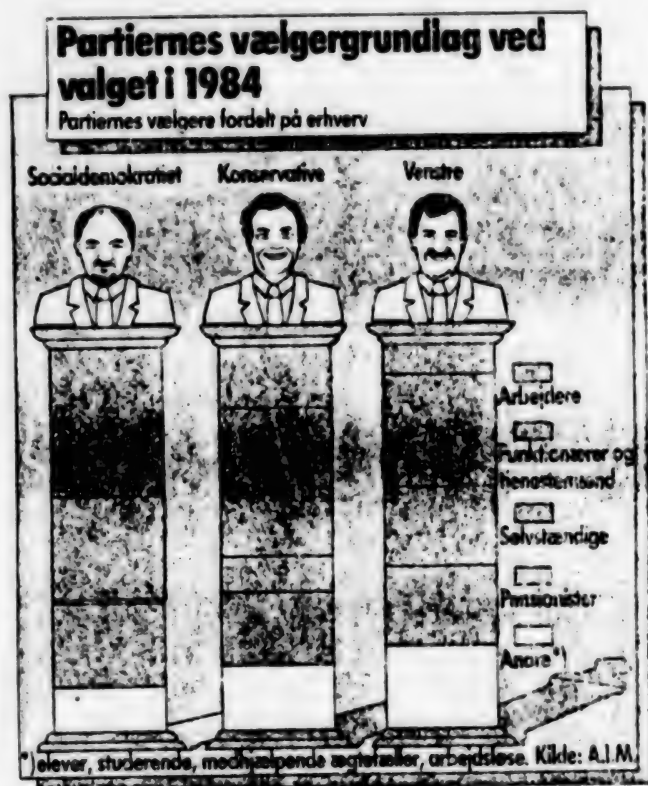
"The party more and more resembles a people's party," said Jorgen Goul Andersen, whose latest investigation shows that steadily more and more privately employed officials are on the way to the party. Especially men and higher officials. On the other hand publicly employed officials are wandering in the opposite direction toward the leftwing.

Jorgen Goul Andersen noted that the Liberal Party has apparently not taken votes from the Conservative Party--yet--even though the party now stands for a more nonsocialist position. "The Liberal Party will presumably begin that one day when the Conservative drive stops," he said.

An AIM investigation conducted for the Conservative Party in the fall of 1984 divided voters into 13 groups. The investigation shows that the Social Democrats are the largest or next largest in seven of the groups. Surprisingly the smaller Conservative Party is largest or next largest in 10 of the groups. If one looks instead at the importance of the groups to the parties it can be confirmed that the three most important groups for the Social Democrats and the Conservatives are identical: lower functionaries and public officials, pensioners and skilled workers. The three groups make up two-thirds of the Social Democratic voters. Since the Conservatives get their voters from a broader base, the party must also have the higher functionaries and public officials before they have two-thirds of the votes.

An Observa poll in the JYLLANDS POSTEN on 16 February showed that the Conservatives have acquired a surprisingly good hold on the skilled worker members of LO [Danish Trades Union Congress]. Thus 20 percent of HK's members, 18 percent of municipal workers and 16 percent of the Metal Workers Union members vote Conservative, while only 2 percent of the semiskilled workers vote Conservative.

About 30 percent of the members of the Joint Council for Officials and Functionaries vote Conservative. The Social Democrats are thereby overtaken as the party which has the greatest support in the FTF.



Caption: The Parties' Voter Foundation in the 1984 Election

The Parties' Voters Divided by Occupation

Soc. Dem.                      Cons.                      Liberal

- Workers
- Functionaries and officials
- Independent
- Pensioners
- Others\*

\* students, undergraduates, servants, unemployed. Source: A.I.M.

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POLITICAL

DENMARK

SDP, INDEPENDENT DAILIES COMMENT ON CABINET SHUFFLE

Schluter Reinforces Conservative Content

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 13 Mar 86 p 10

[Editorial: "Lengthy Manipulation"]

[Text] It took time, and the entire affair gradually became so pressured that expectations and the demands to form a government almost caused the prime minister to panic. Developments culminated on Tuesday towards midnight, when he fired ministers by rows, moved those remaining around, and cheated the Christian People's Party out of the ministerial post which Kofod-Svendsen wanted. And so it was a lengthy manipulation, so complicated that it probably complied with demands from the government's four parties as well as many special interests. Whether the Radical Liberal Party is satisfied with landowner Britta Schall Holberg as Minister of Agriculture is another matter, and the attitude of the farmers toward the firing of Niels Anker Kofoed could be a hot topic in the coming debates in the farmers associations and in the Liberal Party.

The extensive government changes can raise the thought of whether the prime minister really thinks that he is irremovable for a long period of years. Some direct surprises in the new list of ministers are probably tactical plays, for example the naming of H. P. Clausen as Minister of Cultural Affairs. On other points the prime minister is challenging. He is trying to give his government the appearance of a "business government" with a conservative bracing. Of course it was necessary to change the minister of Labor, but the new labor minister is Novo director Henning Dyremose, and that should be seen in the light of the chairman of the Federation of Danish Industries, Niels Wilhjelm, becoming minister of industry. It is along the same lines that mayor Thor Pedersen of Helsingør became minister of housing. It is obvious that Schluter intends a harder conservative course.

For that reason the new government's actions will be kept under close scrutiny.

Independent Leftist Organ Comments

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 13 Mar 86 p 1

[Editorial by emc: "Conservative Power"]

[Text] Government intrigue, the most extensive ever in the middle of an election period, seems to have arisen under the control of the head of government when he realized that his partner, the Liberal Party leader, would under no circumstances give up the foreign minister post.

It caused a marked strengthening of the Conservative Party stamp on the government. The Liberals were weakened by the reorganization and all such actions, despite getting the labor and industry posts, given the Radical Liberal tendency to think that the middle, nonideological forces in the government--and that includes Schluter's version of conservatism--were strengthened.

Even though the head of the government--and many worried Liberals with him--desired a change, which brought the Liberal leader back to the center of economic policy and thereby into the coordination and formation of the principal elements of the policies of the four-party government, Ellemann-Jensen said no.

A dynamic renewal of the government's actual power center was thereby excluded, Anders Andersen is still the Liberal Party's best candidate for minister of economic affairs--even if he is not on the "team" when the next Folketing election comes.

With the Liberal Party's defensive declaration, which said that Ellemann-Jensen and Anders Andersen could not be moved, and that the number of Liberal ministers must remain unchanged, there was a great risk that the government reorganization would be too little and lacking in perspective, pure and simply the firing of a couple of the most incompetent. And that was far from the "changed arrangement" which was to ensure the government profile and new strength for the rest of the period.

In that situation some said that the government reorganization must be abandoned, as Erik Ninn Hansen, close advisor to both the Liberal Party and Schluter, believed.

But the head of the government undoubtedly saw things correctly when he instead pressed ahead and said that the reorganization was gaining ground.

One of Schluter's strong arguments in the internal debates and negotiations must have been his open desire to remove all problem children from the old team. Not only the most obviously weak ministers, Grethe Fenger Moller and Niels Bollmann, but also Niels Anker Kofoed and Britta Schall Holberg, who both were obstacles to rational government work, and Henning Grove and Ib Stetter who, even though they did not create catastrophes in their jobs, neither were they dynamic problem solvers. Schluter guaranteed for himself a

strong starting point by mercilessly cleaning out his own house. That made it easier for his partners to stand fast in defense of their own positions.

Erhard Jakobsen has said for a long time that he was ready to sacrifice Bollmann, who has been inferior to "the real minister of housing", department head Ole Zach, during his entire time as minister.

The sacrifice was well-arranged, since it was accompanied by a "promotion" of Mimi Stilling Jakobsen from minister of cultural affairs to minister of social affairs. She will now have the opportunity to observe the social temperament of CD [Center Democrats] with the bloodletting in some of the government's cuts in assistance.

For the Christian People's Party it was--considering the extent of the bloodletting--naturally untenable to persist in the demand for one more minister post at this time, and the party was satisfied with a promise of one more post the next time--following the election.

The Liberal Party also had to submit. Kofoed is personally in opposition to Uffe Ellemann-Jensen as he was to Henning Christophersen and the entire team of young academic Liberal lions and their ideas on national economy.

But the decisive thing for his departure was that Kofoed became isolated in the government, mostly because of his conflict with the minister of environment about agricultural pollution. Kofoed's obstinacy here was an obstacle which interfered with the necessary functioning of the government.

The same thing happened with the renewal efforts of Britta Schall Holberg in the Ministry of the Interior. Schall Holberg's strong commitment was not accompanied by flexibility and understanding of the conditions of her partners in cooperation, whether it was the officials in the ministry, in the National Health Service or in the municipalities. This situation also became an obstacle.

One could suspect that the head of government hoped that she would say no when he offered her the agriculture post--as Elsebeth Kock-Petersen did when she was offered the job of minister of housing.

With the consistent purging of the problem children, Schluter has despite everything created a new government which looks like something. But we also have here the new people from outside, who will clearly bring an increase of brain power to the Conservative Party Folketing group.

That he was successful in getting the chairman of the Federation of Danish Industries and the well-paid chief of sales of Novo to come in indicates that strong forces in Danish business have seen that Schluter is out to accomplish a necessary task.

The government is in trouble, and something must happen if it is to have an election period in addition to the present one.

In the given conditions the intrigue is rather widespread, but certainly not sufficient to save the government from the misfortune caused by the failures of the balance of payments policy and the obvious decline of popular acceptance of the policies of cutbacks and inequality.

Even though Schluter is trying to stay in the middle, it is far from enough that he win back popular acceptance of his line--and the attempt can easily threaten the credibility of the balance of payments policy. The need for liberal reforms as a dynamic solution to the misfortunes is proposed only by the Liberal Party's bad boy, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, who was completely bypassed in the ministerial intrigue. That was not an accident.

#### Radical Liberals Discuss Move

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 13 Mar 86 p 1, 12

[Article by stal: "Radicals Say The New Government Is Turning Toward Us"]

[Text] The leaders of the Radical Liberal Party see the government's extensive ministerial shifts as a de-ideolizing of government policies and a "turn toward the Radicals."

The vice chairman of the National League of the Radical Liberal Party, Keld Anker Nielsen, called the shifts "a further de-ideolizing according to the wishes of the prime minister," while the group chairman of the Radical Liberal Party, Niels Helveg Petersen called the shifts "a strengthening of the middle profile of the four-party government."

The Radical's vice chairman is well satisfied with the ministerial shifts. Immediately following the Radicals' defeat in the municipal elections, Keld Anker Nielsen said that three of the government ministers should be moved out:

Minister of the Interior Britta Schall Holberg (Liberal Party), Minister of Labor Grethe Fenger Moller (Conservative Party) and Minister of Industry Ib Stetter (Conservative Party). The first because her policies are wrong, and the other two because they are too passive.

Now Keld Anker Nielsen's wishes have been completely fulfilled.

He calls the shifts "a turn toward the Radicals."

"Seen politically, the shifts open some new possibilities. The higher priority and renewal which can now be expected to take place in the area of the minister of industry has been missing as well from the municipal political viewpoint. Many municipalities would like to proceed further with implementation of housing and the like," said Keld Anker Nielsen.

"And in the Ministry of the Interior, Britta Schall Holberg played a role as intermediary of cooperation between the municipalities and the state. The traditional relationship of trust between the municipalities and the state was weak. Now there are possibilities to wipe the slate clean. I hope that the new minister of the interior will show greater understanding that the total public economy can not be controlled by suggestions alone.

"In the area of the minister of labor, we have wanted more active labor market policies. Some of the effects of legislation in the area of unemployment--including regulations for educational performance--can well be turned into something positive with a minister who has initiative and control."

#### Liberals Weakened

One gets the impression that the Liberals have been weakened by the minister shifts because of changing the interior minister from the very ideological Britta Schall Holberg to the more low profile Knud Enggard, and giving the post of minister of social affairs to a Center Democrat.

"I interpret the changes as further de-ideolizing. The prime minister is of course not very ideological, and I mean that positively. We saw that during the negotiations for tax reform. He is able to lift himself up over his own party's interests and policies."

This de-ideolizing must mean a weakening of the Liberal Party?

"The Liberals must have had great difficulty contributing to these shifts," said Keld Anker Nielsen.

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POLITICAL

DENMARK

IDEOLOGICAL STRIFE IN SDP FOLLOWING EC REFERENDUM SETBACK

Copenhagen BORSENS NYHEDSMAGASIN in Danish 3 Mar 86 p 27-29

[Article by Mikkel Hertz, Ole Schmidt Pedersen and John Wagner: "Envelopment Paralyzes Social Democracy"; first paragraph is BORSENS NYHEDSMAGASIN introduction]

[Text] Georg Poulsen, chairman of the Metal Workers Union, calls on the Social Democratic Party to form a government with SF [Socialist People's Party] after the next election--Jytte Hilden wants the party freed from LO [Danish Trades Union Congress]--Svend Auken rejects collective self-examination.

The total Danish labor movement is being pressed from all sides. All the other parties and organizations want to influence the Social Democrats, but their messages are different. And the party has no idea what it should do with all the conflicting advice. Even internally the party is not able to formulate a policy which outwardly can cover the conflicts which have arisen in the labor movement.

The political encirclement is one of the reasons why Georg Poulsen, the influential chairman of the Danish Metal Workers Union is now recommending that the Social Democratic Party form a government with the Socialist People's Party after the next election. This is a new tone from Georg Poulsen, who is normally characterized as a rightwing Social Democrat: "But if they are so crazy to have cooperation with SF and the voters indicate that, there should also be talk of government cooperation," he said to BORSENS NYHEDSMAGASIN.

The internal debate and disagreement about the "EC package" is just the latest example of the Social Democrats and the labor movement having a difficult time finding themselves after over three years in the opposition. Leading LO people and party members are demanding self-examination. The slate should be wiped clean, or as Svend Auken put it at the latest meeting of the executive committee of the LO: "We should return love to the movement."

## The Ideological Inheritance

In reality the crisis arose because the movement neglected organizational work, avoided internal debate and did not make it clear how the movement would manage the ideological inheritance. And here the EC debate is only one of many examples.

"Beginning in 1972 and until today we have done nothing to smooth out the rough spots. Anker Jorgensen was put in to strengthen the contacts between the labor movement and the party--in order to heal the wounds. So 14 years later we discover that they are far from healed--even though during most of the 14 years we have held government power," said Georg Poulsen.

"Now I obviously get the blame because the government perhaps gains strength from this situation, and because Hardy Hansen's 180 million kroner is tossed on the floor. That is a statement which I reject. This situation has been created by the Social Democrats themselves," added the metal workers chairman. He had only a shrug of the shoulders and a sly grin for Hardy Hansen's claim for exclusion of all Social Democratic adherents to the package.

"For the sake of accuracy I want to point out that I was not excluded--quite the contrary," said Georg Poulsen to journalists following the latest meeting of the LO executive committee.

Now the question is: What will social democracy do? The party vice chairman and political spokesman, Svend Auken, said:

"The party must assemble itself on the main task--namely to be a credible opponent of the nonsocialist government. There will be an accounting which will be paid for this waste by Danish society over the past couple of years. That will be the most important discussion.

"The EC package is of course a very small question in relation to everyday Denmark. Therefore there is very little reason for self-examination. The referendum is finished, we are through with it. Obviously there may be individual Social Democrats who have reason to think over by themselves whether it was wise to let themselves be used by the nonsocialist press. But that does not require large meetings. That is a self-examination that individuals can undertake in their own room.

"We have taken a dive in the opinion polls as a result of disagreement over the package. We cannot overcome that by remaining sensitive, but only through hard work. But there will be much more discipline in social democracy in the future. There is no room for any kind of digression in any direction."

## Heads Will Be Used

Nor did MP Erling Olsen, who together with Robert Pedersen and Poul Nielsen recommended a yes to the package, believe that the result of the voting should lead to a purge in the party apparatus.

"Social democracy is clearly in a crisis. Now the party must rise up again, and that can appropriately take place when the Danish people have confirmed that they are a part of Europe. But heads will not roll--they will be used," said Erling Olsen.

According to Georg Poulsen and several Folketing members, Social Democratic heads will be used together with SF to work out a dual work program for a coming SDP-SF government.

"When it comes to cooperation with SF after an election which will perhaps give a red majority, I will clearly say: That is good. We must go into the government together. Otherwise every time we get ready to do something good with SF, and we lack a few billion kroner, social democracy will have to go out and find a cooperative partner elsewhere. And then the party is again damaged," said Georg Poulsen.

Will SF have responsibility which also involves sanctions?

"Exactly, but not sanctions. I do not want to imply that SF will get a thrashing, but they must prove that they can accomplish something."

Various Folketing members agree with Georg Poulsen's viewpoint. One of these is Jytte Hilden from the party's leftwing:

#### Family Increase

"At the moment when there is a parliamentary majority for a SDP-SF government, it cannot be formed fast enough. Then we shall see what SF dares to do."

The conflict about the labor movement's economic support for social democracy is a remarkable expression of change in the labor movement. LO is no longer an organization which is exclusively factory workers and tradesmen, who 25 years ago made up the backbone of the labor movement. The family has been powerfully increased by new wage earner groups.

Sociologist Jesper Due, who researches labor market conditions at Copenhagen University, believes that the labor movement is acting as though it has not discovered that development: "When Ritt Bjerregaard says that the labor movement does not see its members, she is correct, but her approach is wrong. Naturally Georg Poulsen sees his members, but the majority of LO leaders are almost afraid of the workplace, and the new wage earners on the labor market do not participate in union meetings.

"It is people who are not confident of their role as wage earners, and who perhaps see advantages in some tax trick, at the same time as they are wage earners."

Furthermore the labor movement has a serious image problem which has absolutely not been improved following the problems with Danish TV and the Danish Workers Travel Association.

"When problems with bingo money, etc. attract more attention than the political initiatives that we take, it is because the press is organized the way it is." said Svend Auken.

"I believe that if the balance of payments deficit of 28 billion kroner had come under a Social Democratic government it would have been announced in gold print on the front page of BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. They would have considered it a wonderful opportunity. But now it is on page 41 under a heading by the minister of economic affairs: "Wait a Month."

Jesper Due does not entirely agree.

"Take for example OD, which was wrongly sold. When people hear about OD they believe that it is Ivan Barrington's Travel Association or A. Stendell Jensen over again. They think: Are these the kind of people who should have power? In this way the discussion becomes completely trite." said Jesper Due. "The thing is, there is no longer a merging between the hinterlands of social democracy and the labor movement. The question also is whether the party can survive with a divided community in which over 800,000 public employees are abused. I would think a lot about that if I were a social democratic politician."

Jytte Hilden has already done that. She wants to liberate the Social Democratic Party from LO in order to give the party an attractive image to a broader group of wage earners.

"Officials and functionaries do not have a tradition of close contact with social democracy, but if we were a large wage earner party we would also occupy ourselves with the problems of nurses, policemen, teachers, bank employees and academicians." said Jytte Hilden.

"The Conservatives apparently have a better offer for those groups at the moment, and if we continue to identify ourselves with the LO image we will never get the large groups of public employees to understand on which side they stand ideologically. SF does not disturb me so much in that connection. That party never sees a worker, and it does not care about the labor movement."

#### Public Employees Mobilize

Public employees, who are mainly organized into party-neutral organizations, will according to Jesper Due play a much stronger role on the labor market in the future. Large FTF groups, which nobody could imagine 10 years ago would strike, have already participated in actions in conflict with agreements.

"If all the public employees were removed from the large demonstrations, as has happened during the Schluter government, there would not be many demonstrators remaining. The majority are school teachers, pedagogues, etc., and there are many members of SF among them," said Jesper Due.

He characterized the Social Democratic Party as a confused party. The latest confusion during the debate on the EC package is blamed especially on a group

of older Social Democrats. A group which is giving the party credibility problems, according to Jytte Hilden.

#### Local Self-Government

"During the election campaign it was interesting to observe all the former ministers and the former commissioners who suddenly came forth. It has been a hundred years since the people have seen a woman who can think and speak, and they have probably never seen their children--except when they were asleep. They have sat in the power apparatus of the Social Democratic Party and the labor movement, and they comprise a steadily smaller part, but they are obviously a concrete problem because they do not participate in the analysis of the party's future."

The sprouting of the new Social Democratic Party lies out in the local communities, predicts Jytte Hilden. Decentralization of political life is setting in, and soon it will be more interesting to be a mayor than a member of the Folketing. The party must understand this development, and therefore all obsolete systems must be abolished. That also means that central questions of education policy, social policy and labor policy must be decentralized. "We must establish a framework for where the minimums are. It may well be that the social policy in Ringkoping County is different than in Roskilde County, because the people in Ringkoping will themselves decide how they will use their money for culture, social conditions and education," said Jytte Hilden.

Nothing indicates that the movement is ready to make the necessary adjustments. For example, when Georg Poulsen last week said that the party needs a strong self-examination, the message was received with shakes of the head and irritation in the Folketing group. All according to temperament. Different members are very sensitive to criticism from the leaders of the movement. A representative of the organization characterized the party's delicate situation as follows:

"The Social Democratic Party today, with Anker Jorgensen and the national debt, is in the same fix as DKP [Communist Party of Denmark] with Jorgen Jensen and Afghanistan: The two parties both belong to one category in which involuntary changes of the chairman are not good form. And both have political corpses in their cargo, which seriously burden their relations with the voters."

9287

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POLITICAL

DENMARK

# SDP MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN IDEOLOGICAL PURITY, FUTURE EXISTENCE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 Mar 86 p 8

[Commentary by "Monitor": "Apprehended in Flight"]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party must choose between Labour's fate and a continued existence as a broad people's party. It will be a choice between the ideal and reality.

The Social Democratic Party is in a crisis. Not for the first time, but it is the first time the split in the party is so obvious and penetrating. Not so long ago the "attendant" debate raged, in which Robert Pedersen came into open conflict with Ritt Bjerregaard regarding the security policy. Before this clash there prevailed the battle between Kjeld Olesen and Ritt Bjerregaard regarding the Social Democratic Party's model for the society. Even before this the culture battle took place, in which the chairman of the party's Culture Committee, Ole Hyltoft, in a clash with Ritt Bjerregaard found the notion of the "Social Democratic disease"--i.e., that the party is yielding to ideas on the party's left, namely, Marxism. It was about Marxism which Ritt Bjerregaard wrote in STRID [STRUGGLE]: "The foundation supporting me is the Social Democratic Party, i.e., a revisionist and undogmatic Marxism." And this statement was not surprising, in light of the fact that as a young Folketing member she stated: "I do not think there is anything in the Socialist People's Party's platform which I cannot advocate." (JYLLANDS POSTEN, 3 June 1973).

Now Dansk Metal [Danish Metalworkers Union] has declared the Fourth Bjerregaard War. But the war is not just a personal showdown. It extends deeper, for it is a war between two forms of social democracy, where Ritt Bjerregaard has the whole time stood for one form, while her opponents have changed. But she does not stand alone. In addition, she has won too many victories in the Social Democratic Folketing group. Normally she has a majority in the group with her and has thereby set the party firmly on a course which is a good deal to the left and close to the Socialist People's Party. When this line becomes the party's, it is natural that the disagreement becomes so great that the road to a split seems to have been entered.

As the disputes of recent years have demonstrated, the split has long been latent. Conversely, it is so that the pursued "governing capability" will

first appear when the party openly and unequivocally sticks to a course. At present there is talk of a necessary "delousing process." In practice this will mean that the dissatisfied must leave the party so that the rest can rally round and again make it ripe for governing.

The clash was not created by Ritt Bjerregaard, but often unleashed by her, because she says what other Social Democratic socialists keep quiet about. The clash lies in socialism itself and has accordingly also hit kindred parties in Europe. The English Labour Party has just begun a delousing process to dispose of its left wing. In France the ruling socialist party has almost totally changed course from doctrinaire socialism to a pragmatic social democracy. In Spain Gonzales has adopted the same approach. In the West Europe socialist parties and in the Danish Social Democratic Party there are two directions: the empirical and the speculative--the pragmatic and the utopian. One direction adapts its doctrine and its goals to experience gained. The other sees experiences as incidental expressions of incidental circumstances and places its stakes on creating the new society which will correspond to its ideology.

In an administration term both directions can live side by side, because the power of governing in itself becomes an overriding goal. In an opposition term the two directions collide, especially because neither of the sides can point to tangible results and both want to prevent the other from getting hold of the wheel.

The empiricists say: "But acknowledge reality"; and the speculative say: "This is what we must ignore." When Steffen Møller took leave of Dansk Metal he spoke of this issue: "It is really necessary that the world of reality can continue to be presented in the party." Dansk Metal and LO [Danish Federation of Trade Unions] are now mouthing the same words, when they are looking for more labor union people in the Folketing in order that the group will not again disregard the world of reality. On the other hand, Ritt Bjerregaard claims that the Folketing group has the best grasp of reality.

Meanwhile studies indicate that youth and workers are moving away from the party while academicians and public employees are gaining a better grip on it.

The Social Democratic Party is on the way to an outbidding policy with regard to the Socialist People's Party as far as public employees are concerned. Indeed, Anker Jørgensen stated a couple of years ago that he loved the public sector. But in 1979 Ritt Bjerregaard delivered a famous Askov speech in which she divided the country up into an A group and B group. These two groups were, accordingly, not created--as Svend Auken always asserts--by the four-party coalition government. In her speech Ritt Bjerregaard emphasized that the increased social and education expenditures have to an increasingly smaller extent benefited the needy--the B group--but "have to an increasing extent been going to improve the lots of lawyers, social workers, doctors, therapists and teachers. This is perhaps to some degree appropriate, but these public servants themselves belong to the A group, while the subjects of their care, the B group, are in the process left holding the bag."

In the same year Ritt Bjerregaard said regarding the Social Democratic Party's status in the public consciousness that it had become "the Royal Danish Social Democratic Party, to which one can no longer have any other relationship than to the Royal Theater, the State Railways or the Danish Heath Society." Perhaps she was right, and perhaps this is the explanation for the fact that at the present youth are looking toward the Conservative Party.

It is on the basis of such analyses that the party's more socialistic wing has found it necessary to polish the left wing's halo. But it has thereby come into a difficult position in terms of the mainstay elements and institutions of the society which it is principally responsible for. It is impossible to be both an extremist and a mainstay of the State. The practical, experience-touched line which agreed with the labor movement and the classical social democrats will be abandoned if extremism triumphs. Then both influence and the advances gained will be lost.

The classical line did not seek polarization, but a joint effort, and it achieved a historical number of reforms with changing parties on the right of the Social Democratic Party. Svend Auken cautioned in 1983 against the course which is now dominant: "With polarization we lose. Just look at how it has gone with the English Labour Party." (INFORMATION, 22 June 1983).

Svend Auken's words of caution had no effect. The party chose polarization in order to create an anti-nonsocialist profile and an image of something new. This has resulted in a loss of ground, which was certainly also part of the calculations. What is lost inside will be gained outside. That is, out in the Socialist People's Party.

On the basis of this consideration, the Social Democratic Party voted against the Budget and hurled the country into the 1984 election, which it, consistently enough, lost. Based on the same consideration, the Social Democratic Party fell upon the EC package and brought about the referendum, which it, consistently enough, lost.

And the party has fallen out with the broad voter corps in several areas. In the TV2 issue the voters prefer advertising financing, but the party is opposed--regardless of the Labor Press's experiments in the field. In the question regarding part time, the party is acting against pragmatic sense by laying down a line which is an act of dogmatic conformity instead of respect for the fact that people's wishes and circumstances are not always the same.

This is the "Social Democratic disease" which Ole Hyltoft described: "The overseers of the prevailing ideology suggested that equality meant the same portion of gruel for everyone. People with common sense could see that this ideology's triumph was synonymous with the society's defeat." (AKTUEL, 26 January 1984). But the party leadership has no eye for this relationship.

Finally, the party has fallen out with reality and thereby with the experience-touched Social Democrats in the defense and security policy. During her clash with Robert Pedersen, Ritt Bjerregaard wrote straight out in AKTUEL:

"NATO--and thereby also we in the Social Democratic Party who support NATO--has come to stand for a terrorism policy which is either amoral or without credibility, and this cannot continue to go on."

Anker Jørgensen followed this new line up when he praised Dictator Kim Il Sung in North Korea and gave his support to major portions of this one's policy.

These are examples of the road which the experience-conditioned, pragmatic Social Democrats are not prepared to follow. Ritt Bjerregaard calls them attendants and tells them that they have no place in the Social Democratic Party of the future. Studies indicate that they are about to break up for themselves. Tired of the serial of insecurity-creating security resolutions, they are gradually finding themselves more secure in the stable NATO parties, where the point of departure is not in the world of utopias but in that of reality. It is they who--like the longstanding Social Democrat who recently wrote in JYLLANDS POSTEN--are appalled at seeing Knud Damgaard "jumping at a Socialist Left Party motion for a new defense system."

There will be no alternative to the present government before the Social Democratic Party becomes stronger again. Anker Jørgensen said this recently. A few years ago the assessment was the opposite. Ritt Bjerregaard wrote in BERLINGSKE TIDENDE only five weeks before the change in government in 1982 that Anker Jørgensen's government was the most stable in West Europe and was completely without an alternative.

The clash in the party is about how to become stronger. Should they return to the pragmatic line? Or should they continue the flight to the left? In both cases voters will be lost. The question is just whom the party decides to cast off. The answer will be able to be read from the party's actions in the coming period.

Will the fruitless confrontations continue, or have they had enough of the sterile opposition policy and the cheap left-wing trappings? If confrontations and polarization are chosen, Svend Auken has cautioned regarding the consequences. But how long can he remain standing with one leg in each boat?

If it is decided to follow the hard line and the caustic image, the Social Democratic Party's days as a broad people's party will be numbered. It will suffer the Labour Party's fate, and the Folketing will get two rather large socialist parties. In the long term it will create great uncertainty, not only regarding foreign policy, but also domestic policy, when two socialist parties must outbid one another in rebutting the government and in promises of new and quite different times to the voters. Then they will really have forgotten the ability to distinguish between "The Ideal and Reality," which Professor Høffding as far back as 1913 pointed out the necessity of to the socialists.

8831

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POLITICAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

#### FOUR-YEAR, THREE-MONTH LIMIT ON UNIVERSITY STUDY PROPOSED

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 3 Mar 86 pp 1,2

[Article by Axel Hacke: "Appeal to Government and Universities; Academic Council: As a Rule, Study Should Not Last More Than 4 Years"; first two paragraphs are SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG introduction]

[Text] "The length of education no longer has any relationship to career duration"; curriculum must be "weeded out"; special courses are recommended for the new generation of academics.

Munich, 4 March--The Academic Council characterized the long period of study in FRG universities as "an alarming signal." So much time is being spent studying at universities that the length of education no longer has any reasonable relationship to career duration. In conjunction with this severe criticism the council made the recommendation that study be generally limited to a maximum of 4 years and 3 months by means of a so-called "planned study period." Within this period, it must be possible to attain a professional degree including examinations. On Tuesday in Bonn, the chairman of the council presented corresponding "Recommendations for the Structure of University Study" to academics as well as to national and state representatives.

According to the report, in 1983 the total number of semesters of study completed before the degree examination averaged 11.0 in business and social sciences and 12.8 in mathematics, natural sciences, and medicine. This means, according to the report, that in no field of study were fewer than 5 and 1/2 years spent in technical studies. In chemistry, due to the fact that it is not the diploma examination but rather only the professional degree which is being considered, the average duration of study is actually 19 semesters. A chemist would thus normally finish his studies at the age of 31. In this respect, the FRG differs significantly from other industrialized countries such as France, Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States. In those countries, compulsory limits on the duration of study for universities and students are a matter of course.

The Academic Council recommends such regulation for the FRG too. Under the heading "Four Plus," in the approximately 130-page critical analysis, it states that the study offerings in every field must be so structured in the

future that a student could complete his first degree within 4 years. Only in exceptional cases could this limit be exceeded by a maximum of 3 months. The universities would be responsible for making this possible.

For the universities, according to the opinion of the council, whose recommendations were presented by its chairman Heinz Heckhausen, director of the Max-Planck-Institute for Psychological Research in Munich, a new orientation of their offerings is absolutely essential. In the future academic reasons must not be the sole measure for determining the duration of studies. They would have the tendency, as a rule, to lengthen the period of study. It is now much more a question of an "academically politic decision." The predominant question in the future should be "Which academic material is important enough to be covered in the predetermined, limited period of study?" This would also imply a "weeding out" of too much specialized material from general studies.

### Specialized Study Without Academic Degrees

The new structure of studies, according to the Academic Council, must also lead to a clearer definition of previously miscellaneous and overlapping functions of universities. Only after the professional degree should students be introduced to studies which direct them into specific fields of activity. This ought to take place in specialized studies which, as a rule, should not last more than 1 year or an absolute maximum of 2 years. They ought to be open to only a limited number of general studies graduates. For admission, the time that the individual student took to complete his prior studies would have to be a decisive factor. However, generally speaking, no further academic degree would be granted, but rather participation would be recognized by a certificate. Additionally, for doctoral candidates "graduate schools" and national "graduate courses" ought to be established to allow the new generation of scholars a maximum of 3 years of "participation in thematically circumscribed research groups." Furthermore, according to the Academic Council, the universities must devote themselves more than previously to continuing education in order to take the load off of the general studies program.

The recommendations of the Academic Council met sharp criticism from the education and science union. Executive board member Gerd Koehler called them "disappointing." He claims that, based on numerous correct assessments, "only inadequate or wrong conclusion were drawn." The structural problems of universities and the poor professional prospects of their graduates cannot be dealt with through "headlong design tinkering."

### Dorothee Wilms: The Right Way

Federal Minister for Education and Science Dorothee Wilms (CDU) welcomed the recommendations as "the right way" to shorten university studies. Through a reasonably formulated 4-year initial period of study with a combination of theory and practice and an additional research-oriented training stage for graduates, ~~an "appropriate design" would be given to the new educational mission of the universities.~~ The minister pointed out the fact that the nation and the states had unanimously approved the recommendations. The national government has offered to undertake research for the states on models primarily for the design of the specialized training of graduates.

POLITICAL

GREECE

COUNTRY SEEN IDEOLOGICALLY IN SOVIET INFLUENCE SPHERE

Athens EMBISTEYTIKO GRAMMA in Greece 12 Mar 86 pp 3-4

/Text7 Moderate government ministers are admitting that the announcement for a developmental policy will never be made because Premier Papandreou does not want to add extra elements to the program he has started on foreign issues capable of providing PASOK's leftist wing with additional arguments. On the other hand, while many indications make clearer the government's intention to stabilize the Greek position in the Western Alliance complex and the EEC, many believe the government's pro-Soviet rhetoric, as well as that of the pro-government press, will rise in a way much more effective than in the past.

From this point of view, it is characteristic that the Gorbachev letter to Papandreou was promoted by the government press while the Soviet foreign policy positions were directly and indirectly projected by the pro-government press. According to diplomatic circles in Athens, the recent visit of American officials in Greece make evident the attempted upgrading of relations between Greece and the U.S. But, while these visits take away many weapons from the government's ideological arsenal, they also create the need for a more intensive pro-Soviet rhetoric.

The Soviets, therefore, could not imagine, even in their most optimistic assessments, such an achievement in Greece. On the other hand, it is for this reason that Soviet practical foreign policy toward Greece is negative, when compared with their policy in other cases. It is pointed out that the Soviet Union, knowing full well its ideological suzerainty in the Greek political and social life and, therefore, considering as a fact the Greek ideological Finlandization, does not want to further provoke the West and for this reason it is especially careful in its actions toward Greece--several times such actions have been negative.

One can conclude, therefore, that Greek foreign policy agrees with the Soviet policy without deriving any real and practical diplomatic benefit, while, contrarily, the Soviet Union, without granting any concessions dangerous to the geopolitical balance in the Balkans, has an unexpected ally--for its assessments--within the Western Alliance. At the same time, Greece is also the only Western country where Soviet active measures are implemented with exceptional success--a fact which is very easily confirmed by reading the pro-government press.

In this context, many Western observers are wondering what the final ending will be of this paradoxical dimension of Greek foreign policy which, because of its irrational character, worries even the Soviets themselves.

Under such conditions Greek-Soviet diplomatic relations are of exceptional interest for further analysis, say local Western diplomatic circles, because in practice Greek follows--not wholeheartedly--a pro-Western policy while ideologically it is clearly placed in the Soviet sphere of influence, a fact which serves much better the goals of Soviet foreign policy.

As a recent report of the British Foreign Office points out, the Soviet Union does not want, at this phase of the geopolitical situation in Western Europe, to extend its geographical influence. But it desires to win ideological friends and allies who will be contributing in two ways to it: First, they will promote slogans and proposals which will serve international relations of the USSR and will weaken ideologically the Western allied complex and, secondly, they will create problems in the functioning of the Western defense alliance so as to jeopardize or delay the adoption of vital decisions.

From this point of view, the achievements of Soviet strategy in this sector are particularly positive in both the level of government rhetoric and that of public opinion. Thus, as the municipal election polls, as well as those conducted independently by EURODIM show, Greece is the most anti-Western country of...Western Europe. It is also the only EEC country which, with an overwhelming majority (64 percent), considers the Soviet Union as its friend--while in fact it is its objective enemy--and believes that the U.S. is its enemy--while in fact it is its ally.

7520

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POLITICAL

GREECE

## ALBANIAN INTELLIGENCE STRUCTURES; ACTIVITIES IN GREECE

Athens I VRADYNI TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 16 Mar 86 p 17

[Article by P. Kasimatis: "Albanian Agents' Activities in Athens"]

[Text] The dark Citroen abruptly brakes in front of the stranger strolling by the Kakavia guardhouse. The driver speaks broken Greek and is careful to convey his instructions quickly... A Fiat and a small closed van--which also bore standard license plate numbers--were spotted later in Delvinaki, close to the Greek-Albanian border. The cars' passengers were higher ranking members of the Albanian embassy diplomatic staff who were meeting trusted men in deserted places to instruct them on sabotaging a demonstration by northern Epirotes.

It was dusk, on 13 February. A few days ago...

The KYP's [Central Intelligence Service] border officials had been informed. Local authorities, which discreetly avoided interfering, had also been alerted.

The "Three Days Of Mourning" for northern Epirus proclaimed by Metropolitan Bishop Sevastianos did finally get organized despite the difficulties but, on the other hand, the men of the "Sigurimi"--the Tirana secret service--rubbed their hands with satisfaction because they had singled out many people.

Albanian agents are scouring Greece, they organize spy networks and collect information about the nation.

### Structure

Today the "V.T.K" [VRADYNI TIS KYRIAKIS] discloses for the first time the structure of the Tirana Secret Intelligence Service and the activities of the "Sigurimi."

The building which houses the services of the "Sigurimi" is at the end of Iskender Bey street, right by the "Lenin" Hotel in Tirana. It consists of the following sections:

.The Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which assigns, suspends and transfers members of the diplomatic staff in embassies abroad.

.The Directorate of the Ministry of Culture and Education.

.The Directorate of Communications. This service is in charge of listening in on telephone calls and controlling telegrams and mail. The censorship committee also holds its meetings in this service.

.The Directorate of Transportation.

.The Directorate of border forces.

.The Directorate of Security which is in direct contact with the Directorate of the Ministry of Culture and Education.

.The service in charge of analyzing information and

.The "Sigurimi" central directorate which is under the direct jurisdiction of Albania's present secretary general, Ramiz Alia.

According to accurate information, the Ministry of the Interior and the "Sigurimi" which has very extensive powers are responsible for Albania's internal security. A relevant document mentions: "All information regarding the security of the regime and every contact in the nation with foreigners or individuals of another ethnic background or nationality ends there.

Welcome committees in Albania's border posts, escorts who meet Greek groups in Albania, hotel employees, waiters, drivers of means of transportation are 'Sigurimi' agents."

Harila Kola, the first secretary of the Albanian embassy who was arrested in Ioannina and expelled, recently played a paramount role in Greece.

It was on Christmas eve that Kola parked his dark grey Mercedes close to the house he had rented in Ioannina. Two men he had met twice previously were waiting for him there. One of them was a contact. The other one was a "northern Epirote" who was to give interesting information. The raid of the men of the 2nd counterintelligence section of the KYP took the first secretary of the Albanian embassy by surprise and they collected from the table all they could find:

.A pad with names and information on how many are favorably inclined toward the regime.

.Notes that filled a whole notebook.

.A list of classified military information.

The "northern Epirote," as was disclosed later, was a KYP agent who had infiltrated Kola's organization in Northern Greece.

Harila Kola, together with the Albanian consul Nikola Ziou, both of them eminent members of the "Sigurimi," had created the networks of Thessaloniki, Igoumenitsa and Ioannina. They failed to establish organizations in Larissa and Agrinion, while in Athens they made appointments in offices on Patission, Panepistimiou and Akadimias streets. Formerly, Kola's position was held by Justin Papageorgi who left the country when the "Sigurimi" realized that he had become known to the counterintelligence section of the KYP. Papageorgi travelled often to Ioannina and Corfu and had generated suspicion. As soon as he left, he was assigned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tirana, to the Directorate of Political Affairs for Greece.

Ropi Kita, a member of the embassy and of the "Sigurimi," was expelled in 1983. He had organized the most extensive network of agents in Attica, particularly in Aspropyrgos and Markopoulo.

According to information, Albanians have their eye on the wealth of northern Epirotes in Greece and are attempting to create an "Albanian minority" in the nation by making those who speak Albanian appear as "Albanian." They also claim Greek territories as Albanian, providing Greek libraries, through a well known professor, with books and magazines!

12278

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POLITICAL

GREECE

LOW LEVEL OF NATIONAL EDUCATION, DEVELOPMENT LAMENTED

Athens TO VIMA in Greek 16 Mar 86 p 15

[Article by Nikos Dimou: "The Empty Glass"]

[Excerpts] We are agreed: the same glass, half-full of water, is seen by the pessimist as half-empty while the optimist regards it as half-full.

But what happens of the glass is completely empty?

In this case, there is no margin for interpretations and psychological tendencies. We can be sure of one thing: we shall be thirsty!

Ladies and gentlemen, the glass is empty!! It is dry. And what is worse, no one knows how to fill it. The drought is certain, beyond every kind of optimism or pessimism.

I am referring to the condition of the country. I am very much afraid that no one has realized how rapidly we are falling (it is quite natural: we close our eyes when we are falling down!).

Can you show me one significant sector of our lives where things are going well? The economy? Education? Management? Health? Culture?

We have neglected knowledge. And its lack is our first and fundamental problem.

Let us say we are "stabilizing" our economy. Let us say we can find investments. Who will implement them? Who will design products, who will plan for the needed services? We do not even know how to take advantage of foreign products. We order a computer (an excellent foreign technological achievement) and the people who are selling it or who install it or who monitor it are not even aware of the instructions in the literature that comes with it!

I see no solution, other than a miracle or a revolution. We are so far behind in knowledge--and the chasm is growing larger every day--that I am also closing my eyes, not to see how fast we are falling.

Meanwhile, the institutions of higher learning have become branches of the various parties. Instead of science, they offer ideology. But ideologies have never built anything, they have only caused catastrophes.

The glass is empty. I mean the glass of knowledge. And when this glass is drained to the bottom, hopes for the future are very thin indeed. In order to put out a huge fire [the Salonica JET OIL fire] we had to bring "experts" from abroad. Already, we have recourse to foreigners for every difficult job. And then, we talk of "national independence"!

This is where the game is played, and this is where it is lost. We can bring machines and equipment in a second. But knowledge requires time to accumulate and be applied. When, at the present time (oh immortal Greek trade-unionism!) teachers are increasingly less qualified, how shall we create better scientists? Decades are needed to upgrade education.

Meanwhile, the train (that well-known train) has left and its lights can no longer be seen on the horizon. Run after it? How? With what?

I have no hope to offer, neither do I have a solution. No one cares. We only sing slogans.

Because the most tragic, the destroying aspect is not that we have lost the train. It is that we do not care! If we did, we would do something. But we are indifferent, and we only care about today; as for tomorrow, God will provide.... Greece is having fun, and it is managing through loans. Borrowed money, borrowed knowledge. But how long can a country live on expediency?

/8918

CSO: 3521/120

21 April 1986

POLITICAL

GREECE

## BRIEFS

SIGNIFICANT LIBYAN PRESENCE--According to our reports from Italy, a few days ago the Italian police arrested Giuseppe Frank, a non-commissioned infantry officer and Paolo Rezio, an entrepreneur, whom it charged with selling documents to Libya containing information on the Italian missile base at Komiso, Sicily. Italian police authorities say that Paolo Rezio had also made several trips to Greece where he had contacts with agents of the Qadhdhafi regime. Thus, views are expressed that it is possible for Greece to be part of a broader network of providing information to Libya which, as is known, is closely cooperating with the USSR. In this context, diplomatic circles point out Libya's participation in several enterprises in Greece as is also the case with Italy. They point out, moreover, that such participation may provide Libya not only with technology but also with the means of reaching "know-how" sources. Finally, we point out that Libya's diplomatic presence in Greece is exceptionally impressive and the number of Libyan diplomats in Greece is greater than the number of American and Soviet diplomats combined. /Text/ /Athens EMBISTEVTIKO GRAMMA in Greek 12 Mar 86 p 77 7520

USSR'S DESIRE: CONTINUED PASOK GOVERNMENT--Papandreou always seeks a dialogue after the fact, according to communist Left cadres who become confused by the premier's "openings" in all directions. Thus, they say, Andreas Papandreou never asks for a dialogue before he imposes measures concerning, for instance, the economy, the electoral system, Article 4, or even TV. "The premier remembers the dialogue each time he finds himself cornered," they told us. Leftist political leaders believe that under such conditions KKE will not be enticed by the premier's proposals except if the USSR makes particular recommendations to him, especially following the recent visit to Moscow by Akis Tsokhatzopoulos. According to our reports, Moscow wants to help PASOK remain in power even if this means a shrinking of KKE. It is therefore conjectured that, for reasons of "higher pressure," KKE will once more undertake cooperation which for it is negative. /Text/ /Athens EMBISTEVTIKO GRAMMA in Greek 12 Mar 86 p 17 7520

CSO: 3521/103

POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

#### MILITARY CONTROL OF SIRP WORRIES PS

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 14 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] The fact that military personnel predominate in the intelligence service bodies and that the post of secretary general of the Technical Commission of the Higher Intelligence Council is held by an operational expert in the field, in this instance Gen Pedro Cardoso, instead of a jurist, were among the concerns voiced by the representatives of the PS who met with Cavaco Silva for an hour and a half on Wednesday.

Three departments are included in the Intelligence System of the Portuguese Republic (SIRP). They are the Military Intelligence Service (SIM), the Strategic Defense Intelligence Service (SIED), and the Security Intelligence Service (SIS), the best known of all of them because it is the only one authorized to provide information for the purpose of safeguarding domestic security.

#### Secretary General Pedro Cardoso

Pedro Cardoso was chief of the Army General Staff and for a time commanded the 2nd Division, the unit responsible for military intelligence. It is precisely because he is an intelligence expert that these comments have been made in connection with his appointment to the post of secretary general of the Technical Commission of the Higher Council. In practice, he could become a veritable intelligence "boss." This post may prove important because it could also be decisive in the adaptation of the military intelligence services to the new structure.

To date, because of the lack of intelligence bodies, it has been the second divisions of the general staffs which have produced the information used, for example, in combating terrorism. There are those who fear that this propensity of the military services for dealing with intelligence related to domestic security will not be gradually eliminated, and might even be nurtured by a secretary general who is a military officer and an expert in this field.

The Socialist Party would view a judge holding this post and serving as the conscience of the system with greater sympathy.

## Security Law

The government is expected to begin hearing the opinions of the opposition parties on its draft security law next week, O JORNAL has learned. It is expected that the government proposal will not include most of the articles in the old law which, although it won general approval, were the subject of polemic arguments. Measures such as the monitoring of correspondence and the tapping of telephones will not, in principle, be dealt with in the new proposal.

5157

CS0: 3542/75

POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

#### GAMA SEEN AWAITING CHANCE FOR PS LEADERSHIP

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 22 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Jose Antonio Saraiva: "The Struggle in the PS"]

[Text] There are apparently two armies confronting each other within the PS. One is headed by Almeida Santos, who devoted a significant portion of his career to being Mario Soares' right arm; the other is symbolized by Vitor Constancio. Constancio and Almeida Santos are two fundamentally different individuals. One is an economist of note, of whom little is known, however, in the political field; the other is a brilliant lawyer and an indefatigable legislator with superior political experience.

The personalities behind these men are also different.

Behind Constancio there are men who were always known as intelligent, but who rarely took politics very seriously, to the point that some of them were never full-time politicians; behind Almeida Santos there are professional politicians, who made politics their career, and who, for this reason, have resolved to fight to the end for their positions.

The outcome of the battle is unknown.

Will the PS militants opt for the "renewal of the party," deciding to give it a "new image" (symbolized by Constancio and the group to which he belongs, who always nourished some reservations vis-a-vis Mario Soares), or, on the contrary, will they choose to support those who, for better or for worse, always stood by the side of the former secretary general?

Will the PS militants choose what, after all is said and done, they do not know very well (symbolized by Constancio) or will they opt for what, in the view of some, they know only too well (which is embodied by Almeida Santos)?

No one knows.

But, no matter what the choice will be, it is possible to predict one thing: being the first, this struggle will not end the war.

With Soares' departure, the PS will probably experience a crisis similar to the one that occurred within the CDS after Freitas do Amaral's exit, or even similar to the one within the PSD after Sa Carneiro's death.

In the socialists' future, nothing can be considered definite.

Whether victory goes to Constancio or whether it is won by Almeida Santos, the succession problem cannot be considered closed.

Victor Constancio will meet with many difficulties in governing the PS against the "professional politicians," who have taken hold of the party's apparatus.

As for Almeida Santos, he will probably be unable to head the party without the cooperation of the "technocrats" represented by Constancio.

Thus, the task of mutual attrition now started by the two sides will not be resolved in the congress of the party, but will extend beyond it.

And who will be the winner?

In the midst of all this, there is one man who is not accepting the challenge of an open war and who is doing what he has always done: he is waiting to see.

His name is Jaime Gama.

Letting others present him as an alternative, he is not getting involved in the fight.

Sharp and astute, he is perhaps the most political of the three, since he has no technical pretensions like Constancio, nor does he conduct other activities alongside politics, like Almeida Santos.

He is biding his time.

In the belief that, sooner or later, the party will fall into his hands.

/8918

CSO: 3542/81

POLITICAL

SPAIN

FOREIGN MINISTER WEIGHS NATO POLL RESULTS

PM041353 Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 24 Mar 86 pp 28-29

[Interview with Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez by Jose Manuel Arija; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Arija] What did European ministers say to you when you informed them of the referendum result?

[Fernandez Ordonez] I started telephoning all my European and U.S. counterparts at 2030 hours. The fact is that I did not dare call them earlier. I remember that when I told Lord Carrington that the margin was at that time 5 percent in favor he replied: "That's a lot." Apart from that there were all kinds of comments and reactions. Genscher was celebrating his wife's saint's day--all of them gave me not only their official telephone number but the number wherever they happened to be--and Genscher replied to me: "I could not be going to Salamanca a happier man: It is the best news you could have given me."

[Arija] Had you already decided to telephone them all?

[Fernandez Ordonez] Yes, because we had been talking about nothing else for the past 7 months. It was obsessive. It gives an indication of the extent to which the eyes of the whole world--I mean the whole world--were upon us. One can imagine what would have happened if the referendum had gone the other way.

[Arija] But now that it is over, did you not exaggerate the dangers we faced; did you not frighten the voters excessively?

[Fernandez Ordonez] I do not believe we exaggerated at all in the anxiety that we conveyed to the citizens. My impression is that in the end we all breathed a sigh of relief, including many of those who voted "no."

[Arija] Everyone is saying that now nothing will be as it was before. How will present differ from former foreign policy?

[Fernandez Ordonez] I believe that the change now will lie in the fact that solid foundations have been laid for the whole area covered by our peace and

security policy. From my own experience I can say that we have hitherto maintained independent stances in favor of detente--for instance in our line on Helsinki, with regard to Nicaragua, Contadora, or by withdrawing our ambassador from the Philippines before any other country in the world, when the U.S. Government still held an ambiguous position.

In other words, Spain has asserted a voice of its own in foreign policy which will now be more consolidated because we are in our rightful place, which grants us greater scope and leeway in the international arena.

[Arija] What is the substance of the offer made to the other parliamentary groups of a consensus on foreign policy?

[Fernandez Ordonez] I believe that the prime minister was referring to the fact that the policy of peace and security received virtually a total consensus in the 27 December parliamentary vote [for Spain to stay in NATO], which has now been ratified by the people's vote.

[Arija] But how is it to be achieved in practice? By means of a new parliamentary session?

[Fernandez Ordonez] In my opinion I do not believe there is any need for further parliamentary sessions apart from those that have already been held. Basically it would be a matter of completing the cycle of a process that produced the result that it did on 12 March. But that is a matter for the prime minister to decide. Basically, now that the referendum is over, if we eliminate all the domestic political incrustations that surrounded the debate, what we will be left with is the consensus that emerged in December.

[Arija] Unless there is another debate in parliament, will the political leaders be summoned to the Moncloa Palace [prime minister's office] or how will the accord be achieved?

[Fernandez Ordonez] That is a decision for the prime minister to make. I will not venture an opinion but I do believe that the country has had enough debates on this subject.

[Arija] The joint talks with the Americans to discuss the presence of their troops in Spain were suspended pending the referendum result. What will happen now?

[Fernandez Ordonez] At the second meeting a document was signed in which the United States accepts the general blueprint for troop reduction. We will meet again in May, examine Spain's position within the general picture of overall security and our position within the Atlantic alliance and, having done that, take the next step.

[Arija] What is the next step?

[Fernandez Ordonez] To study specifically what is to be done with each of the bases and in each instance with regard to the American military presence.

[Arija] What else?

[Fernandez Ordonez] Listen, it would be unwise to anticipate anything now. But I will tell you that all the referendum pledges will be honored. Our desire is to hold several technical meetings after May and to reach an agreement in midsummer.

[Arija] Are there any disagreements between the Foreign and Defense Ministries, as was previously the case?

[Fernandez Ordonez] I can tell you that there is not the least discrepancy between the Defense and Foreign Ministries' stances. We are working very closely together on everything to do with the alliance and the business with the Americans. This unity grants us an extremely firm position.

[Arija] Minister, will the Torrejon and Zaragoza bases be closed?

[Fernandez Ordonez] Pardon me, but I cannot be any more explicit. What I would add is that the reduction of the U.S. military presence will not be a merely cosmetic operation. This is our resolute intention.

[Arija] In other words, some of their military bases will close.

[Fernandez Ordonez] We are not going to rule out anything in advance, and the reduction will be a real one. There will be a reallocation of the tasks of Spanish defense, because we will be negotiating on the basis of Spain's interests, not of some kind of cheap demagoguery.

[Arija] So there will be a reduction not only of troops but of installations too.

[Fernandez Ordonez] We will analyze the issue in its entirety. You see, since the bases were created world strategy has changed, weapons have changed, the international political situation has changed with the Reagan-Gorbachev dialogue. Everything has a new dimension and the analyses cannot be of the kind conducted at a petty level. The entire redefinition must be carried out with a sense of balance.

[Arija] How does the Gibraltar question stand after the referendum?

[Fernandez Ordonez] The day after the referendum I sent a letter to the Atlantic Council in which I stated verbatim that "my government stands resolutely and unwaveringly by Spain's claim to sovereignty over Gibraltar." In other words, the reservation that was not expressed when Spain joined the Atlantic alliance has now been asserted. And this is very important.

[Arija] But what importance does this reservation have now?

[Fernandez Ordonez] Of course it carries no legal weight, as a reservation. But in all the 16 letters sent by the defense minister and the 16 that I have sent we have mentioned the subject of Gibraltar. Look, it is so obvious that

we can get along better with an allied and friendly country beside us within the alliance and the EEC that it is not worth discussing. What we wanted to point out in the letters is that we have a colony on our own territory and that we will definitely not abandon the issue.

[Arija] Now that our alliance membership has been confirmed will Ceuta and Melilla be better protected?

[Fernandez Ordonez] What is clear is that Spain is no longer alone from the viewpoint of its defense and security. The king of Morocco has never spoken in terms of adopting a decision of a violent nature or anything of that kind. So I rule out the real possibility of an attack, but in the absurd hypothesis of something like that happening we are unquestionably part of an alliance which, in the event of an attack on one of its members, would engage in a round of consultations, and we would be better protected than before.

[Arija] One other point: Will the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons be signed?

[Fernandez Ordonez] Irrespective of the decision reached on the nonproliferation treaty, Spain will undoubtedly align with nuclear nonproliferation stances, to which it has already committed itself within the context of political cooperation with the EEC countries. Spain will proceed clearly along this line, irrespective of the treaty which, as everyone knows, is primarily of symbolic importance.

[Arija] The Popular Alliance has stated that since it does not regard the referendum as binding, Spain's membership of NATO's military structure could be negotiated.

[Fernandez Ordonez] That is something that the Popular Alliance has said and it is a matter that they would have to tackle if they were to win the elections. But as long as this government remains it will consider itself morally and politically bound by the referendum, so we will not be raising this question. But if the Popular Alliance is so enthusiastic about joining the military structure, if and when they come to power they may discover to their great surprise that, despite their anxiety to join the military structure, others will not allow them to do so because it may not be in their interests.

[Arija] How will the a la carte menu for NATO membership mentioned by Lord Carrington be negotiated now?

[Fernandez Ordonez] Not much can be anticipated because this is a joint task for the Defense and Foreign Ministries, to establish the technical parameters of what we might in general terms call Spain's outlines. Though this may seem paradoxical, Spain's major task within the Atlantic alliance is the defense of our territory. It may happen occasionally that technical or intelligence tasks will arise.

[Arija] Mr Ordonez, why is there such evident anti-Americanism in part of Spanish society?

[Fernandez Ordonez] It is very strange because this is a country where [U.S.] music, drinks, movies, now hamburgers, literature, and so forth are more popular than in other countries. In fact we are even the country that sends most of its children to study in the United States. We are greatly influenced by American culture so I regard artificial anti-Americanism as absurd. But that does not mean that we must agree with its foreign policy. If anyone has disagreed with that policy it is I--and this has nothing to do with anti-Americanism.

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CSO: 3548/38

POLITICAL

SPAIN

# GUERRA DISCUSSES POST-REFERENDUM POLICY

Madrid TIEMPO in Spanish 17 Mar 86 pp 15-18

[Interview with Vice-President Alfonso Guerra by Nativel Preciado; date, time, and place not given]

[Excerpts] The "yes" vote prevailed. The first one to know it was Alfonso Guerra. At 2200 hours the night of 12 March, another date that will go down in history, the vice-president of the government was bursting with satisfaction. His overwhelming election campaign, which had been planned at Moncloa, had worked. Alfonso Guerra became a formidable thinking machine, and spent weeks holed up in his office, plugged into his telephone and his computer.

[Question] The scare is over; you won the referendum.

[Answer] We did not win the referendum ourselves; the Spanish people won it, having understood that the question posed by the government was in the best interests of the nation.

[Question] To what do you attribute the miracle of the affirmative victory?

[Answer] To the common sense of the Spanish citizenry, although I must undoubtedly add that the effort of the Socialists, sympathizers and independents who have supported the government's proposal, contributed significantly to the campaign.

[Question] Was it difficult for you to abandon your old dreams?

[Answer] The truth is that it has not been easy to do away with our symbols (the flag, the form of government, Marxism), but we have been adapting, and the result is very satisfying. That has been the price of democracy and liberty.

[Question] The most agonizing debate has perhaps been the one revolving around NATO.

[Answer] The same as the others. For me, it has been easy to deal with, for a very simple reason: I use the truth. In 1981 we said: We should not join

NATO, but we were brought into it. In 1986 we have said: We should remain in NATO.

[Question] Do you acknowledge that this government was really taking a chance on 12 March?

[Answer] Not at all. Here the Spanish defense system was running a risk. And Fraga took a risk, because his position was not understood by either his constituents or by the European right. Fraga was taken to the cleaners by the same bunch that danced on the grave of the Democratic Center Union (UCD) and now want to dump the Popular Coalition.

[Question] What do you think now of the pacifists who voted "no"? Do you think they have been hopelessly naive?

[Answer] Absolutely not. I empathize with their position because, among other reasons, I am as pacifistic as anyone. I don't like Reagan's policy in Central America or the military blockades either, but I am convinced that I can contribute more to peace if I respect the equilibrium between the two blocs. What I do regret is that politics makes such strange bedfellows, and in fact it has pained me to see honorable pacifists voting along with the Brotherhood of Former Combatants and Herri Batasuna.

[Question] These comparisons are hateful, Mr. Vice-President.

[Answer] I do not want to be aggressive, but these progressive-minded pacifist movements sometimes devote very little time to documentation. Their political motivations respond to emotion, not reason. The current situation in Spain could not be better for any European pacifist or ecological movement. The Greenpeace types have come to Palomares and have been welcomed by everyone. There is a huge difference between us and other countries that chase them away at gunpoint and sink their ships.

[Question] After all, we will have to thank our lucky stars if the current situation in NATO stays the same: We have no nuclear weapons, we do not belong to the military structure, and there may be a reduction of U.S. troops.

[Answer] Who can doubt that? That is what the Spanish people voted for in the referendum; therefore, it is untouchable.

[Question] Many people do doubt it, because few trust the Americans to respect our decisions.

[Answer] It is totally crazy to say that. They have to respect them. We have been in this situation for 4 years, and no one has imposed anything on us.

[Question] There is a lot of mistrust in Spain, and a certain anti-Americanism. How long will we be able to remain without nuclear weapons?

[Answer] There will be no nuclear weapons here. I know that there is anti-American sentiment in Spain. There is an explanation for it. The Atlantic

Alliance was formed by the allies to save the peoples of Europe from Hitler and Mussolini. When an Italian democrat saw the Americans coming to liberate him, he jumped for joy. In Spain that did not happen. Eisenhower lent important support to the dictatorship of Gen Franco. They did not come here to liberate us, but to support the dictatorship against Spanish democrats. That is why there is no love for them.

[Question] A lot of water has gone under the bridge since then.

[Answer] Popular sentiment builds up over a long time. History explains why we are different from the rest of Europe in many ways. In the area of pacifism, for example, there is a tendency to confuse ethics with esthetics. The Spanish pacifists have made mistakes with the Alliance.

[Question] You appear to be very sensitive to this issue.

[Answer] I am undoubtedly very interested in these international movements; they are the future.

[Question] Does it hurt you to think that the pacifists misunderstand you?

[Answer] Not at all. I know that there are those who honestly defend positions that are different from mine, but that does not mean they are no longer my friends. I have not had to wait until 13 March, until the storm passed, to resume my friendship with some pacifists. Dialectical combat is commendable; what I cannot accept is fraud and lies.

[Question] Getting back to the dirt that Tierno mentioned. You have said that this government has to get its hands dirty in order to effect change.

[Answer] I have said that we politicians who are trying to bring about a more just society must get our hands dirty to remove things. Planting rice is a necessity, and in order to plant rice you have to get muddy. Intellectuals, however, can remain in their ivory towers seeking the ideal without getting dirty.

[Question] Some intellectuals have come down out of the tower, although not all of them to defend the government's position.

[Answer] I am glad that everyone has gone to his own village. At any rate, there were very few signatures. The majority of intellectuals preferred to stay in their ivory towers. Thus, no matter what the results, their influence would not be weakened.

[Question] There has been a kind of witch-hunt regarding those signatures.

[Answer] Not at all. You are confusing the term; the witch-hunt was something else. People were looking out for themselves, and that seems legitimate to me.

[Question] Success, Mr Vice-President, is also difficult to assimilate. It will be hard to put up with a government which, in addition to the 10 million votes, considers this referendum a show of support for it.

[Answer] How absurd! I assure you that we are not going to tout this referendum as our own success; we will not even exploit it in the upcoming elections. Why do you say that so gratuitously?

[Question] Because people think that: The victory will make you even more arrogant.

[Answer] This business of arrogance is mentioned only by the opposition and the press. People do not say we are arrogant. My impression is that we are candid and hopelessly naive, and that we are not as vicious as we should be.

[Question] Nicolas Redondo says somewhat the same thing, and of course you have not said a word about his vote.

[Answer] I don't know how he voted, but Nicolas Redondo's attitude, although honest, has been mistaken. I think he will regret that he was not on top of things.

[Question] One last question, out of curiosity: Would you remain in a government without Felipe Gonzalez?

[Answer] No, not under any circumstances. I do not aspire to be president. My political ambitions are quite limited. Moreover, I have set a date for my resignation.

[Question] Do you want to tell me what it is?

[Answer] No, no one knows it but me.

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CSO: 3548/34

POLITICAL

SPAIN

## GONZALEZ' NATO STANCE CRITICIZED

### PCE Advocates NATO Withdrawal

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 16 Mar 86 p 17

[Article by Juan G. Ibanez]

[Text] Madrid--The secretary general of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), Gerardo Iglesias, yesterday publicly announced his party's willingness to draft a joint leftwing alternative program with all of the social and political groups that have supported withdrawal from NATO. Gerardo Iglesias indicated that the PCE is prepared to form electoral coalitions in all districts.

Iglesias voiced the view that the Civic Platform for Spain's Withdrawal from NATO should remain in existence to hold together the upcoming campaign calling for the dismantling of American military bases and the monitoring of compliance with the administration's proposed conditions for remaining in NATO.

"At next Tuesday's meeting we are not going to take any position in favor of something for which the Platform was not created," Iglesias added at a press conference. "It is another thing, though, if the groups that attend agree to establish some sort of cooperation and a political program that goes beyond the struggle for peace. The working class, the young people and the intellectuals who have joined together in the campaign for withdrawal from NATO have been crying out for such cooperation, and we want to facilitate it."

The Communist leader indicated that the results of the referendum have forced that PCE "to take another step" in its policy of convergence and, therefore, "we no longer speak of independents on PCE lists or of accords with two or three groups; rather, we speak of bringing together all groups that were involved in the campaign against NATO."

Iglesias asserted that he could not give further details and he declined to say whether his party would refrain from putting up its own candidates in congressional elections. He stated, however, that the PCE was prepared to run in an election coalition in all districts if such a coalition is formed.

## Differences Can Be Overcome

The secretary general of the PCE indicated that the differences with Ignacio Gallego's Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain (PCPE) "can and must be resolved by their joining the PCE. And not one by one with membership cards in hand, as the PCPE has been saying, but rather with thoroughgoing generosity. Things are different with Carrillo (who heads the other Communist group, the Committee [Mesa] for the Unity of Communists)."

Nicolas Sartorius, the assistant secretary general of the PCE, interpreted the results of the referendum as a setback for a two-party system, "inasmuch as seven million Spaniards said no to Felipe Gonzalez and no to Fraga. Furthermore, we have to bear in mind that many voted yes while holding their noses or because Felipe Gonzalez had hinted: 'If the noes win, I'm leaving.'"

"In any event," Sartorius indicated, "we're not that naive as to think that all of the seven million no votes were from the Left, but a substantial number were cast by progressives." He later estimated that constituency at "two or three million voters."

Enrique Curiel, another assistant secretary general of the PCE, said: "When we called for the resignations of Calvino and Sopena, we weren't kidding. There cannot be a repeat of TVE's [Spanish Television] conduct. We cannot run in the general elections with the current management of TVE."

## Socialist Left Supports PSOE

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 16 Mar p 17

[Text] Madrid--During a meeting yesterday in a Madrid hotel, the Federal Coordinating Board of Socialist Left (IS) resolved to carry the debate on the group's future to its rank and file throughout Spain. The IS yesterday ruled out in principle withdrawal from the PSOE.

The outcome of the discussions within provincial organizations will be analyzed at another meeting of the Federal Coordinating Board on 26 April. This is the deadline that has been set for consulting with the rank and file, ascertaining the results of the UGT [General Union of Workers] national congress and the talks with the PSOE leadership, specifically Organizational Secretary Txiki Benegas, and seeing how the party stands on the public disagreements within IS during the NATO campaign.

One of the upshots of the disagreement between the party leadership and the IS spokesmen could be that the members who hold public office will resign, the representatives of IS themselves announced yesterday.

It seems more likely that certain prominent IS members who hold posts in the party will resign, such as Pablo Castellano, who is the president of the Caceres group and a member of the Federal Committee.

21 April 1986

## NATO Debate Continues in Andalusia

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 18 Mar 86 p 14

[Article by Enrique Chueca]

[Text] Seville--The Communist Party of Andalusia seeks to bring together in its election coalition "Convocation for Andalusia" all of the progressive forces that voted no in the referendum on Spain's continued presence in NATO. Julio Anguita, the party's candidate for president of the Andalusia Board, yesterday issued a public appeal in Seville for a joint government program that "is in keeping with the no vote, with neutrality and with progress" as an alternative to Socialist policies.

Anguita said that he would step aside if the unified forces felt that another candidate was better qualified to run in the upcoming autonomous community elections.

Andalusian Communists also stated that they would not accept the consensus that Felipe Gonzalez' administration has proposed. The secretary general of the PCA, Felipe Alcaraz, has said that they are refusing because only the Right could accept such a consensus. "We want out of NATO, and thus the only possible consensus is with the progressives among the seven million who voted against remaining in the Atlantic Alliance." The PCA says that there are potentially some 800,000 such voters in Andalusia, "not counting the people who held their noses and voted yes."

With regional elections in the offing, Julio Anguita indicated that the Convocation for Andalusia remains in "its original state." Nevertheless, in light of the referendum, the PCA is "determined to bring together the progressive vote." In his opinion, the political picture has changed considerably, and the Communists are not going to be left behind in the popular outcry for unity.

## Activism

Julio Anguita plans to ask the no voters to adopt an activist stance and to carry on the struggle to achieve other goals, such as cancellation of the agreement on U.S. bases, the creation of a commission to investigate the nuclear weapons situation in various areas of Spain, the immediate signing by the government of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, "withdrawal from the military committee" in NATO, and cutting military spending. The PCA yesterday announced upcoming rallies outside the Rota base.

The response of other groups to the PCA's offer was not long in coming. Yesterday, the Committee for the Unity of Communists, the Carrillo faction that split from the PCE, said no to participation in the Convocation for Andalusia. As far as the Committee is concerned, communist unity is predicated on the formation of a new group. Rafael Fernandez Pinar, who is seeking the group's nomination to run in the Andalusian elections, stated that the Civic Platform has done its job, and he therefore opposed turning it into an electoral platform "because it would be a mistake and an illusion to think

that the entire no vote constituency could be capitalized on," the EFE agency reported.

The Andalucista Party (PA) has asserted that it will run in the autonomous community elections without leftwing, rightwing or centrist "deals." Luis Urunuela, the secretary general, argued that the PA is the only political choice for those who want to vote for Andalusia.

Separately, journalist Fernando Santiago Munoz, an official in the Cadiz Provincial Council [diputacion] and the editor of the monthly magazine ANDANA, which the council puts out, said yesterday that he had been fired as editor in reprisal for having signed two manifestos opposing Spain's continued membership in NATO.

The president of the council, Alfonso Perales, denied that he had fired anyone and described the allegation of a reprisal as "insane and preposterous." Perales admitted that he had "suggested" to the journalist that "as a public official" he refrain from using the magazine's name in public statements.

#### Anti-NATO Commission Organized

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 20 Mar 86 p 14

[Article by Juan Gonzalez Ibanez]

[Text] Madrid--The Civic Platform for Spain's Withdrawal from NATO has created a six-member commission to study the possibility of its continued existence as a "civic platform." The new platform would seek not only to promote the dismantling of the United States' joint-use military bases in Spain and to monitor the government's compliance with the conditions for remaining within the Atlantic Alliance, as approved at the referendum, but also to "defend civil liberties" and to criticize the administration's economic policies, according to several of the member groups, especially the PCE.

The main representatives of the political parties and organizations that belong to the Civic Platform for Spain's Withdrawal from NATO have put off for 2 weeks a final decision on the organization's future and on the creation of an electoral platform that would offer a leftist alternative to the PSOE. The postponement came on Tuesday night after views were exchanged and it was realized that 2 1/2 hours of talks were not enough to hammer out a consensus.

A six-member commission was charged with drafting a report that will make possible a final decision after the Holy Week vacation. The commission consists of Enrique Curiel (PCE), Alonso Puerta (PASOC), Juan Jose Rodriguez Ugarte (Justice and Peace), Humberto da Cruz (environmentalist movement), Antonio Elorza (professor) and Jaime Miralles (attorney). Since they were unable to put forth a specific proposal yesterday, those attending the meeting agreed to speak out against the administration's use of RTVE [Spanish Radio and Television] during the referendum campaign and against the "lack of parliamentary representation" for the seven million no voters.

At a news conference yesterday evening, most of the political groups represented (the PCE, PASOC, PC Marxist-Leninist and the Humanist Party) came out in favor of keeping the platform alive and even of expanding its goals, which until now have been limited to a security and foreign policy issue, the withdrawal from NATO. In any event, the platform will reportedly push the demand to dismantle the military bases that American troops use in Spain and to cancel the friendship and cooperation treaty with the United States.

#### Moral Support for Leftist Alternative

Ramon Tamames, the president of the Progressive Federation, said he favored reducing the platform to a follow-up commission that would monitor compliance with the administration's proposed conditions for remaining in NATO. Tamames remarked at the Tuesday evening meeting that his group would withdraw from the platform if it were to expand its activities.

Both Gerardo Iglesias and Alonso Puerta, and even representatives of social groups such as Juan Jose Rodriguez Ugarte from Justice and Peace, felt that the Civic Platform could serve as a "moral support" for the emergence of a leftwing alternative to the PSOE. The political groups that are prepared to form an election coalition would thus benefit from keeping alive the "pacifist reference point" that they feel the Civic Platform has represented. It could be kept alive by not turning it into an electoral platform.

Those who want to keep the platform alive and to expand its objectives intend to preserve a leading role for it, above and beyond the negotiations among parties to create a program and an election coalition. The new organization could be called the Civic Platform for Peace, Progress and Democracy or, simply, the Civic Platform. As part of such an effort, preparations are under way for a large-scale, festive homage to Antonio Gala in late May or early June.

Gala declared yesterday that now that the referendum has been held, his presidency (of the platform) has come to an end because the term is over, "not because I want to return to any ivory tower" inasmuch as he has always regarded literature as a form of communication. "I'm not as strong as a horse. I'm really exhausted. I overworked myself," the writer noted. "I can't tell whether I'll be in the hospital in 2 weeks," he went on to say, "but if the platform continues as a civic (nonelectoral) organization, I'll be solidly behind it."

#### Peace Group Criticizes Government

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 14 Mar 86 p 15

[Article by Rocio Garcia]

[Text] Madrid--The State Coordinating Board of Peace Organizations (CEOP) yesterday cautioned the government that it has no right to cite the yes votes in the referendum as support for its pro-NATO policy. In addition, henceforth the two anti-NATO groups, the CEOP and the Civic Platform for Withdrawal from NATO, will pursue different tacks. While the CEOP will seek to develop an

organized peace movement and rules out any election bid, many of the members of the Civic Platform will try to put together a leftwing alternative for the upcoming elections.

In their last public appearance as such, the CEOP spokesmen said that it was impossible to support the administration's proposed policy of consensus, inasmuch as "it would mean betraying the seven million no voters."

The CEOP spokesmen, including Rafael Grasa, Carlos Otamendi, Antonio Escalante, Almudena Bergueria, Lucia Garcia and Agustin Moreno, all criticized the campaign by the administration and the PSOE and their use of the mass media.

Agustin Moreno from the CCOO [Workers Commissions] said that Socialist leaders had waged a "politically reactionary and ethically immoral" campaign, adding that the administration ought to strike the word ethics from its vocabulary.

Carlos Otamendi said that the administration had vitiated the referendum by playing on voter fears.

In Otamendi's opinion, many citizens who voted yes did not say yes to NATO; they voted for security for Spain as a result of a campaign of lies and blackmail.

The CEOP leaders indicated that recent political developments in Spain have strengthened the peace movement and they announced that they would focus their campaigns henceforth on preventing renewal of the bilateral agreement with the United States and would continue their struggle against military spending, the blocs and NATO and in favor of neutrality. They also indicated that they would demand strict compliance with the three conditions in the preamble to the referendum question and the signing of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, which "the administration has weaseled out of" in Almudena Bergueria's opinion. In this regard, Rafael Grasa wondered about the "future of Spain's military liaison in the NATO military command and its presence in the military committee and in the defense planning committee, neither of which France belongs to."

#### PCE Meeting

The Executive Committee of the PCE meets today to analyze the results of the referendum. As Andreu Claret, a member of the committee, indicated yesterday, one of the issues that the PCE will look into will be TVE's coverage of the campaign and "the need to democratize it, which means changes in its management." Gerardo Iglesias, the secretary general of the PCE, called for the resignation of the TVE management on Wednesday.

With regard to the leftwing alternative advocated by representatives of the Civic Platform for Withdrawal from NATO (Ramon Tamames, Alonso Puerta and Iglesias), after hearing the results of the referendum, Claret indicated that the Executive Committee would study the PCE's proposals "to help lend continuity to the momentum that the Civic Platform has created during this

campaign, by extending its efforts to other areas such as civil liberties and economic and social policy."

According to Claret, the PCE is prepared to broach the matter with "the utmost generosity, renouncing any sort of cliquishness or leading role." The outcome of the referendum, with close to seven million no votes, has substantially altered the political picture, in particular on the Left, in Claret's opinion. "Nothing will be the same after the referendum," said the Communist spokesman.

Carlos Otamendi said yesterday that the peace movement would never become a specific electoral option, because that would mean its dismemberment. According to Otamendi, "the CEOP cannot turn into an election platform with a view towards the 1986 general elections. There is no way to transform an organized peace movement into a political platform. The movement is very diverse, and this is both its major advantage and its main limitation."

#### Breakup of the Movement

"The CEOP has succeeded in bringing together hundreds of groups and thousands of peace activists of Christian, anarchist, democratic and environmentalist persuasions," Otamendi added.

"Personally," Otamendi acknowledged, "I think that such a transformation would be a big mistake. It would entail a breakup of the peace movement and of its diversity. No one can lay claim to the peace movement's political capital. This is an issue that I have thought through completely. We have to keep our heads about us and realize that it would be very dangerous. I'm not ruling out that some people might risk such a move, but I of course realize very clearly that it would be a big mistake."

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POLITICAL

SWEDEN

# PREVIOUS CABINET POSTS PROVIDE GOOD PREPARATION FOR CARLSSON

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Mar 86 p 2

[Commentary by Olof Kleberg: "The New Prime Minister--Schoolmaster for all Sweden?"]

[Text] We have a new prime minister. Thanks to "yes" votes by the Social Democrats and Communists. The nonsocialists abstained, just as they did when the Social Democrats returned to power in 1982, thereby probably establishing a practice that the Social Democrats may follow once they are back in the opposition.

Abstentions simply mean acceptance of the parliamentary situation. And that situation is now as clear as glass.

Will the Social Democrats wind up in the opposition again? Yes, of course. Parliament is essentially just as evenly divided as it was before, despite the current broad sympathy for a party that has lost its leader. And that is what the new prime minister must base his actions on as he shapes a responsible and long-term government policy that will continue the fight against skewed balances in the economy and distortions in the balance of power in terms of the union organizations. It will have to be a policy that does not increase antagonisms with other parties.

The realization that control of the government is no longer an eternal fact of life is probably beginning slowly to grow within the Social Democratic Party. It is perhaps a pious hope that that realization has grown strong enough to permit a realistic opposition policy the next time around. With Ingvar Carlsson, the Social Democrats have a chance to break free of obstacles both between them and other parties and within the party itself.

There are many indications that Ingvar Carlsson may be a competent prime minister. He seems to have an aptitude for coordination, the overall view, and problem solving. Like Olof Palme, he also enjoys broad support within the party--not as devoted but more homely in tone.

There are two question marks, however. Will Ingvar Carlsson be able to arouse as much enthusiasm in party sympathizers at election time as Olof Palme did?

Hardly. On the other hand, his strength may lie in his ability to also get the unsaved to listen. They were not reached by Palme.

Another uncertainty has to do with Carlsson's toughness. Will he be able to stand up to pressures from every strong group and resist demands to refrain from disagreeable measures? That is where his capabilities will be put to the test as early as this spring.

For several years it was said that Ingvar Carlsson was an exceptional case in his multifaceted role as minister of data processing, research, future studies, environment, and other things. In fact, it may be that he has gained a special strength from that circumstance. For 4 years, he has been able to view party politics more or less from above and has strengthened his ability to take the overall view.

He has long pondered the Social Democratic Party's role in Sweden. As far back as the mid-1970's, he and Anne-Marie Lindgren published a book entitled "What is Social Democracy?" Being explanatory rather than agitatorial, it was scarcely a current-day counterpart to August Palm's "What do the Social Democrats Want?"

Even though it was Anne-Marie Lindgren, then his information secretary, who did most of the writing for that and later editions, Ingvar Carlsson was actively involved in the brainwork behind the book.

In it we see the pragmatic, reasoning Social Democrat with clear opinions and principles but one who is not totally locked into previously designed solutions--in the public sector, for example. In it we find reasoning that later came to be part of what was in any case a tentative policy of innovation.

Can Carlsson innovate? Is it not true that his new way of thinking, which produced results in the party's emergency program and ideological program, toes the line quite closely? Not according to those who know him. He himself chose to devote himself to future studies and to tackle the Social Democratic Party's image as a party as stiff as concrete.

And like Tage Erlander, he has the ability to listen to many people and gather information and facts before making up his mind. That can be useful--as long as the information gathered is not filtered beforehand, as was true during the nuclear power years, when Ingvar Carlsson bore a large share of responsibility. His growing interest in the prospects for the environment and survival may be an indication that he has broadened his listening range. And with decentralist Bo Torresson as party secretary, the Social Democratic Party is suddenly facing the possibility of a new orientation.

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POLITICAL

SWEDEN

## FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE CHARACTERIZED BY UNUSUAL HARMONY

### Bildt Cautions on Soviet Ties

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by Magdalena Ribbing and Sven Svensson: "Foreign Policy Debate Amicable"]

[Text] The Riksdag foreign policy debate on Wednesday was characterized by broad agreement and amicable exchanges. Foreign Minister Sten Andersson was praised for his willingness to cooperate, demonstrated among other things by the way in which he ended on the spot a longstanding dispute with the Conservatives over wording.

Does Sweden have a "strong defense" or a "relatively strong defense in view of our situation"? The Conservative Party's foreign policy expert, Carl Bildt, maintained that defense was stronger in the past and that the phrase "in view of our situation" created uncertainty and confusion. It differs from earlier statements by the foreign minister, he said.

Foreign Minister Andersson did not intend to be drawn into a dispute about words, he said.

"For the sake of unity I am prepared to use the phrase 'a strong defense' in the future, so we don't need to argue about it."

### Bildt Satisfied

Carl Bildt was understandably quite satisfied with this obliging attitude. He had started off his speech with some remarks about Olof Palme, with whom he has fought some hard duels in Riksdag:

"Olof Palme gave our foreign policy and our international conduct his own unique color and tone which we disagreed with at times but which were always visible and audible in a way that we and many others will miss. Of course foreign policy will remain unchanged and of course the work will continue--but it will never be the same."

Relations with the Soviet Union are important, Carl Bildt said, but they are not decisive:

"We must never create the impression that we are a nation by virtue of the grace of the Soviet Union."

Liberal Ingemar Eliasson, second vice chairman of his party, also noted that the choice of words in the foreign policy debate is milder than it used to be and he said that was to Sten Andersson's credit. Ingemar Eliasson asked Sten Andersson what he meant by saying that respect was being shown for Sweden's determination to use all the means at its disposal to combat violations of our territory. Sten Andersson explained:

"Representatives of various nations have indicated their respect, although the reports from the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces [OB] indicate that not all countries were exhibiting this respect in practice. But respect has been shown for our resolve and determination."

#### Submarines

The OB's reports were brought up in the foreign policy debate. In a newspaper article Social Democrat Sture Ericson had questioned the propriety of the OB's reports on probable submarine violations: "This reinforces the impression that Sweden is vulnerable to pressures from the East," Sture Ericson said. He was attacked by several people for this in Wednesday's debate but he defended himself by saying that the OB's oracular reports, as he described them, created an overdramatized impression. Although the government had asked the OB to submit these reports, their form should be reviewed, in the opinion of Sture Ericson.

Center Party leader Karin Soder, who like Sten Andersson and Left-Communist Party [VPK] leader Lars Werner wore the clearly antiracist "Don't Touch My Pal" button, repeated her party's proposal for a United Nations university for human rights and democracy. She also wanted to create better conditions for children in wartime--make children a protected zone, as she put it.

#### Soviet Trip

Several speakers brought up Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's trip to the Soviet Union next month. VPK leader Lars Werner wanted Ingvar Carlsson to create clarity on the Soviet Union's position concerning a Nordic nuclear-free zone. Are earlier positive tones still valid and can additional commitments be obtained? Lars Werner asked.

In the negotiations on Baltic Sea boundaries VPK supports the standpoint that the midline halfway between Gotland and the Baltic mainland should be the boundary, Lars Werner stressed.

Sten Andersson said that the agreement among political parties on these negotiations had strengthened Sweden's position. The Foreign Policy Committee

will be informed of what has happened and it will also discuss Ingvar Carlsson's trip and receive a briefing on it. Ingemar Eliasson wanted a travel agenda to be presented to Riksdag, but this was not forthcoming. Sten Andersson thought there were better places for a report of this kind.

Carl Bildt also thought the prime minister's trip to the Soviet Union was a good idea, but it will not mean any changes in our foreign policy, he said.

"It would also be meaningful if the prime minister could visit Washington, Bonn, London, Paris, Copenhagen and Helsinki."

The speakers agreed on condemning the Soviet incursions in Afghanistan and the reprehensible apartheid regime in South Africa and they supported the five continent initiative calling on the leaders of the superpowers to halt nuclear testing until the next summit meeting has been held and felt that world developments should lead to the strengthening of democracy and a reduction in the arms race.

#### Working in Palme's Spirit

"It is the Swedish government's imperative obligation to work tirelessly in the spirit of Olof Palme to implement efforts aimed at international arms control," Foreign Minister Sten Andersson said in Wednesday's foreign policy statement.

"We must also work energetically to defend the right of Sweden and other small countries to shape their own future without foreign intervention," said Sten Andersson.

"We are reminded daily of the increasing violence in the world," the declaration continued.

"Combating terrorism and eliminating it in the long run is one of the most important challenges facing the international community today. At the same time we intend to avoid taking steps in the name of security that will lead to restrictions on our open democratic society. That would mean giving in to violence," said Sten Andersson in this section, which had a direct link with the murder of Olof Palme.

#### Sharper Language

The foreign policy statement was generally in line with last year's statement and with the government declaration that was issued when Ingvar Carlsson became prime minister. The language is sharper on some points.

In recent years Northern Europe and the North Atlantic have been the subject of mounting interest on the part of the military alliances. This development calls for increased alertness, Sten Andersson stressed. It must be in the interests of the superpowers to preserve the Nordic region as a low-tension area through such means as exercising restraint in military dispositions.

## Nuclear-Free Zone

The work to set up a Nordic nuclear-free zone should continue with the aim of reaching agreement on the basic elements of a zone arrangement. The obvious starting point for this is respect for the right of each Nordic country to decide for itself which policy best serves international interests.

These remarks represent a softening compared to last year's declaration. It stated that Sweden was prepared to enter into concrete discussions of a zone arrangement with the other Nordic countries.

"It is a strength of Sweden's security policy that an open and democratic debate can be reconciled with broad agreement on the basic elements of Sweden's neutrality policy," this year's declaration continues. "The policy of neutrality must be characterized by consistency, firmness and continuity and it must be backed up by a strong defense in terms of our situation."

## Respect

"We will never tolerate violations of our territory," the text continues. "We are strengthening our ability to combat them. The Swedish measures and our resolve and determination have been met with respect from other countries," said Sten Andersson, following corrections in the printed text.

The last declaration said that Sweden did not and would not hesitate to use force against any foreign intruder. At the same time it stressed that resources to detect assailants were being stepped up rapidly.

Olof Palme's last government declaration from October 1985 said of the submarine violations that respect was being created for "our determination to defend the territory of our nation with all the means currently available to us." In his government declaration Ingvar Carlsson simply stressed that the government was firmly resolved to defend our nation's territory with all the means available to us.

## Soviet Union and the United States

This year's government declaration said that the government wants good stable relations with the Soviet Union. "At the same time we are calling for respect for Sweden's neutrality policy and the rules of international law governing relations between states. We will try to solve problems through a constructive dialogue."

The last foreign policy declaration said that Sweden calls for respect for the fundamental principles of international law, which must be adhered to if small states are to live in safety behind secure national boundaries.

The government took a stronger stand against the war in Afghanistan than it has in the past. "We support the efforts of the United Nations to find a negotiated settlement," it said. The main elements in such a solution must

include a withdrawal of Soviet forces and recognition of the right of the Afghan people to determine their own form of government.

Criticism of the U.S. intervention in Central America was also sharper. Negotiations between the warring factions in El Salvador should be resumed. The American support of armed groups waging war against the legal government of Nicaragua must come to an end. It is in conflict with international law and makes peace efforts more difficult, according to the foreign policy declaration.

#### Paper Lauds Unity

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 Mar 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Optimism Keynote of Debate"]

[Text] Wednesday's foreign policy debate was one of the most optimistic in recent history. The optimistic keynote in Riksdag a few days after Olof Palme's funeral may seem paradoxical. But the major speakers for the various parties were apparently determined not to break the spirit of harmony that has prevailed since the prime minister's death. It seemed natural for them to stress in his spirit the possibilities rather than the difficulties inherent in international efforts.

The changes in the Philippines and in Haiti along with the resumption of the dialogue between the superpowers were cited as evidence that developments were heading in the right direction. No one is yet prepared to draw pessimistic conclusions about the lack of progress that has characterized Soviet-American relations since last fall's summit meeting in Geneva.

It is not a very bold guess to say that the international atmosphere influences the Swedish debate. But if one looks at the foreign policy debates during the internationally tense first half of the 1980's, the picture is uneven. On some occasions peace prevailed. At other times, in 1982 (the election year) and especially in 1983, Palme launched sharp attacks against the Conservatives; on the second occasion he called them a security risk for security policy.

In 1984 Palme stayed away and the result was a tame debate between the opposition and then Foreign Minister Bodstrom about the invitation to the Soviet agricultural minister to visit Sweden. Palme's absence was infectious. Last year neither Falldin nor Adelsohn took part in the traditional big introductory round. This year Westerberg and Adelsohn were missing. The foreign policy debates are losing their old character of party manifestations at the highest level.

The feeling that they may have outlived their days of glory may also have something to do with the fact that last year's debate was the culmination of Olof Palme's heavyhanded lecturing of his security policy opponents. This occurred when he moved to confront the Conservatives at a late stage and

stated in a subsequent article that it was no longer possible to talk of any basic agreement on Swedish security policy among the parties in Riksdag.

But this denunciation had no real consequences in an election year and gradually newly-appointed Foreign Minister Sten Andersson with his talk of consensus showed that a new era had begun.

The fact that there is presently a truce among the Riksdag parties does not mean that there is silence on the subject of security policy throughout the country. This year's foreign policy debate was preceded by protests from military officers. The majority of our military leaders agreed that confidence in our ability to deal with security policy has been shaken.

The chief of the Navy noted that he was not being given the resources he needs as a professional to carry out the intentions of the state authorities. Other countries are disturbed that we are unable to deal with border violations and that we are deflecting our resources and enlarging the threat instead. The leader of the Liberal Party has been accused of using "extreme language" in calling for a democratic development in the East. So we could certainly have a serious debate in Riksdag!

But we should not castigate the Foreign Ministry for a lack of controversial material in this year's government declaration. It is hardly elegant but it is strikingly concise and clear. Afghanistan, Central America and the Middle East are all discussed more concretely than in the past. It is stated quite clearly that the demand for respect for Sweden's neutrality policy and for international law must be addressed with increased emphasis to the Soviet Union.

As a gesture to Conservative Carl Bildt, the foreign minister agreed in the debate to stop using the old phrase about a "strong defense in view of our situation." From now on it will simply be "strong," although that hardly indicates unanimity among members of the Defense Committee. Social Democrat Sture Ericsson recently provoked nonsocialists by accusing the Supreme Commander's submarine reports of helping to cast doubt on our security policy.

It is true that significant differences could be detected, especially between the Conservatives and the Social Democrats, on such matters as the work for a democratic development in countries receiving Swedish aid. But this was a day for the Conservatives to rejoice that Sten Andersson "unhesitatingly" placed Sweden in the camp of the western tradition of freedom. When we note that Bildt found positive elements in Gorbachev's arms control initiatives and conceded the value of international sanctions against South Africa, it is easy to understand that the debate was a peaceful one.

It is the positive aspects that dominate the picture, Carl Bildt said at the conclusion of his main address. That is the way they wanted it in Sweden's parliament on Wednesday.

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POLITICAL

SWEDEN

#### POLL COMPANY DIRECTOR ON LATEST OPINION MEASUREMENTS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 20 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by Sven Svensson and Bjorn Anderberg: "Nonsocialist Voters' Forgetfulness Makes Poll Results Unreliable"]

[Text] Not all nonsocialist voters will remember how they voted in the 1985 election during the many party shifts toward the end of the campaign. This means that the voter barometer will be less reliable than it has been in the past.

This point was made by Hans Zetterberg, head of the Swedish Institute for Public Opinion Polls [SIFO] in an article in a journal on opinion surveys that is published by the Research Council.

Zetterberg referred to the increased vote for the Liberal Party in 1985. In the 1982 election the Liberals received 5.9 percent of the votes. In the polls SIFO conducted at the end of the campaign, the number of voters who said they had voted for the Liberals in 1982 correlated with the actual election results up until 28 August.

After that there was an increase. In the period 1-3 September, 8.3 percent said they voted for the Liberals in 1982 and 8.1 percent said they would vote for the Liberals in the 1985 election.

From 4 to 6 September, 7.6 percent said they voted for the Liberals in 1982 and 9.7 percent said they would vote for the Liberals in 1985. From 7 to 9 September, 7.7 percent said they voted for the Liberals in 1982 and 11.0 percent said they would do so in 1985. From 10 to 12 September, the percentage of those who believed they had voted for the Liberals in 1982 rose to 8.7 percent while 10.3 percent indicated their intention to vote for the Liberals in 1985. Two days before the election, on 13 and 14 September, 9.3 percent said they voted for the Liberals in the 1982 election and 15.5 percent said they would vote for the Liberals in 1985.

The voter barometer is adjusted with respect to how voters said they voted in the last election.

Hans Zetterberg's conclusion is that in many cases nonsocialist voters will not remember how they voted in 1985.

Using the information supplied by nonsocialist voters in the next election will simply mean having all the polls end up close to the level of the election results, Zetterberg said. In other words, no changes will be detected.

If one refrains from trying to "stabilize" the sample and/or making calculations utilizing information as to how respondents voted in previous elections there is less risk of systematic error, but the margin of error will be greater, Zetterberg said.

#### Nonsocialist Slant

Assistant Professor Soren Holmberg, a political scientist from Goteborg who has made several postelection analyses, said in another article in the same publication that SIFO's questions and its interpretations of responses have a generally nonsocialist bias. Soren Holmberg viewed this as a special problem. He thought this could be offset if the various branches of the labor movement started ordering or personally conducting open opinion polls on political issues.

In the controversy with Soren Holmberg, the head of SIFO told a press conference that the criticism is misdirected.

"After every SIFO poll is released, each change in the electorate that is detrimental to the Social Democrats is commented on in editorials in the non-socialist press. These newspapers and not SIFO are responsible for the non-socialist slant," said Hans Zetterberg.

Soren Holmberg also said that we do not have nearly enough opinion surveys in Sweden.

"More institutes and more surveys would take care of the tendency of politicians and journalists to take the few polls we have as gospel truth instead of contributions to the political debate," said Soren Holmberg.

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POLITICAL

SWEDEN

BRIEFS

WEST GERMAN NEW SIPRI DIRECTOR--The government has now officially appointed Walther Stuetzle to be the new head and director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). Stuetzle, who is West German, will head SIPRI for 5 years and will take office on 1 October, but will begin planning and practical preliminary work at the institute as early as 1 May. Walther Stuetzle, who is succeeding Frank Blackaby, is 45 years old and has a doctorate in international politics. He is coming to SIPRI from the STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, where he was a writer on security policy and defense matters. Before that, Stuetzle was chief of planning and under secretary of state in the West German Ministry of Defense. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 13 Mar 86 p 8] 11798

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POLITICAL

TURKEY

TURKISH COMMUNISTS GREET 17TH CPCZ CONGRESS

TA261127 (Clandestine) Voice of the Turkish Communist Party in Turkish  
0500 GMT 26 Mar 86

[Message from Turkish Communist Party Central Committee General Secretary  
Haydar Kutlu to the 17th CPCZ Congress on 24 March]

[Text] Dear delegates, on behalf of the Turkish Communist Party [TCP] Central Committee, Turkish Communists, and the working class in our country, I greet the 17th Congress of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] with fervor. I believe that this congress will be a significant cornerstone in further enhancing the economic and technical potential of the CSSR, reinforcing its international prestige, and further improving the living conditions of the toilers. On the basis of the successful implementation of the 16th congress resolutions, we, Turkish Communists, are convinced that the Czechoslovak Communists will also successfully realize the goals of the 17th congress.

All your achievements and gains are a source of strength and inspiration for Turkish Communists, who are waging their struggle under extremely difficult conditions. The TCP highly esteems the close friendship between the brotherly CPCZ and the party and country of Lenin. Our party, together with the CSSR and other socialist countries, supports the Soviet efforts to protect world peace, prevent the militarization of space, halt the arms race, and eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons. The proposal submitted to the FRG by socialist Czechoslovakia and its neighbor the GDR to create a region free of chemical weapons is a concrete example of the uninterrupted efforts toward this end.

Dear delegates, under conditions of illegal and continuous attack, the TCP is waging a struggle to prevent Turkey from becoming a tool of war for U.S. imperialism, and to attain the democracy our people have been yearning for. Our party will continue [word indistinct] to work for the development of the relations between our country and socialist Czechoslovakia on the basis of peaceful coexistence and mutual benefit. The TCP views its relations with the CPCZ, which are developing and gaining strength on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as a valuable advantage. The TCP wishes the 17th CPCZ Congress great success in its deliberations. Long live the CPCZ. Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

/9738

CSO: 3554/29

MILITARY

DENMARK

## AIR FORCE DOUBLES NUMBER OF PILOT TRAINEES

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 Mar 86 p 7

[Article by Nils Eric Boesgaard: "Number of Pilot Trainees in Air Force Doubled; Necessary If It Is to Continue to Be Possible to Keep Fighter Squadrons Flying"]

[Text] The air force has almost doubled the number of pilot trainees in order to bring the number of fighter pilots up to full strength as quickly as possible, Defense Ministry Assistant Secretary Ole Buch reports.

An increase of 16 fighter pilots from school in the USA is expected at the end of the year, but this will far from be able to remedy the shortage which has arisen as a result of the flight to civilian airlines.

The ministry does not want to report how many pilots left the air force in the past year, but 24 have resigned since the new year.

"At the end of February representatives of the Defense Ministry made the rounds of all air stations in order to discuss the situation thoroughly with the pilots. During these meetings many things came out from which we could see absolutely that there were conditions which could be improved," Ole Buch says.

"We hope that through cooperation between all parties we will succeed in managing and controlling the resignation of pilots from the air force. In this connection it must be remembered that the Education Ministry has submitted a bill concerning a training program for civilian pilots, which we hope will take some of the pressure off the air force."

"At the same time we are working on a structure change based on a form of reserve service or muster system. We already have an arrangement with some SAS pilots, who are being used by the army's units as air liaison officers and forward air controllers, who are to see to communications between land and air forces in a war situation. Finally, we are studying to what extent it will be possible to offer recently resigned fighter pilots reserve service so that they could help us to ride out the storm."

8831

CSO: 3613/89

MILITARY

FINLAND

## 000022 CHIEF COMPLAINS OF DIFFICULTY FILLING CIVILIAN JOBS

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 27 Feb 86 p 8

[Article by Marit Ingves]

[Text] The commander in chief of the Defense Forces, General Jaakko Valtanen, complains that there are those who would rather be unemployed than work for the Defense Forces. "We have jobs, but we have not been able to attract people," he said yesterday at a luncheon with political reporters.

The third parliamentary defense commission estimated that the Defense Forces were short nearly 5,000 persons. According to its report, there was a plan to hire 1,500 civilians--a plan that never materialized.

"In today's situation, we are being forced to train conscripts as drivers at a time when there are many people out in civilian life who could do the same job."

According to Valtanen, the same is true in the case of warehousemen.

On the other hand, problems arise in recruiting specialists such as engineers because in their case, the Defense Forces are forced to compete to a greater extent with other workplaces where the pay is higher.

"The organization of the Defense Forces is currently under review, and there will be some changes as a result. But this is the last time we can do this," said Valtanen. "If the personnel shortage is not remedied, we will be forced to revise the duties of the Defense Forces."

According to Valtanen, there are no estimates as to how quickly the Defense Forces could hire civilians or how many it could hire, but he said the hiring could not take place all at once.

He said: "But the jobs are there--it would not cost anything to create them. It is simply a question of wage costs, which come to between 72,000 and 80,000 markkas for each new hire."

## Negative Attitude

According to Valtanen, the primary reason why so few civilians are employed by the Defense Forces is not the lack of money but attitudes.

This is something he has tried to work on during his term as commander in chief of the Defense Forces.

He said: "People believe that we are a tool for war. But there are other conditions besides peace and nuclear war," and he talked about something he called "controlling a crisis situation."

He said: "That might be a situation in which talk and diplomacy alone are not enough and in which soldiers might also be needed--a small-scale mobilization to guard our land areas and ensure that they are not used for military purposes.

"Even if there is not a full-fledged war--but only a kind of war in which shots may be fired--we must be able to guard our territory, otherwise we will lose what our successful security policy has given us."

## Basic Rights

Valtanen has brought up the question of government services in times of crisis on several occasions, but says he has not tried to influence work on the emergency preparedness law--a law on which no progress has been made for a long time. It is a law that the leftwing parties have tried to link with reform of the law on the state of war.

Opponents have felt that that law violates the basic rights of citizens.

Valtanen has no objection to changing the law and feels that rights should be safeguarded for as long as possible--but there should be a law making it possible to take steps in certain exceptional situations.

Valtanen also feels that during the current debate on compulsory military service, people have completely forgotten that the right to say no to civilian service should also mean that people also have the right to say no to other duties imposed on them by society.

The commander in chief of the Defense Forces also commented on the recent appointments in the Defense Forces and especially the decision by the two generals to resign before reaching retirement age.

According to Valtanen, Major General Uolevi Anthoni's resignation came as a complete surprise to him, whereas Major General Erkki Laatikainen had announced his resignation long before.

Valtanen said he was surprised at Anthoni's reaction, which he believed was due to Anthoni's assumption that he was the obvious candidate for the post of military director of finance, a job that went to Colonel Raimo Pentti.

"I would like to have seen Anthoni stay on. There was nothing to prevent him from doing so," said Valtanen, who denied that the decisions to resign were a symptom of poor interpersonal relations within the top military leadership.

MILITARY

GREECE

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH EGYPT--We are informed from the premier's environment that, within the context of the recent agreement Premier A. Papandreou signed in Egypt for Greek-Egyptian cooperation in the war industry sector, the purchase of technology from Israel will play a significant role. We have also learned that two large Israeli companies, which are collaborating unofficially in this sector, have shown interest in the establishment of a common three-country enterprise whose objective will be research and development of original technology in both the industrial and military sectors. /Text/  
/Athens EMBISTEYTIKO GRAMMA in Greek 15 Mar 86 p 77 7520

CSO 3521/103

MILITARY

SWEDEN

# GOVERNMENT EXPECTED TO APPROVE ANTIAIRCRAFT EXPORTS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 20 Feb 86 Sect III p 1

[Article by Erik Liden]

[Text] SVENSKA DAGBLADET has learned that, in a meeting held today, the government is expected to approve a major order received by Bofors. Despite previous concerns and canceled permits, Bofors will now be able to export missiles and other antiaircraft materiel to Pakistan and Indonesia.

During numerous debates in parliament, Foreign Trade Minister Mats Hellstrom has said that civil conflicts in East Timor made it impossible to issue new export permits, but that the delivery of previous orders would be considered on a case-by-case basis.

Pakistan is now purchasing the antiaircraft missile "70" and radar equipment for 700 million kronor. Indonesia is purchasing antiaircraft artillery for ships at a cost of 250 million kronor. It is purchasing both 40-mm and 57-mm antiaircraft guns.

Bofors' share in the missile order is worth 460 million kronor and Ericsson's radar system is worth 235 million kronor to Ericsson Radio Systems in Molndal.

Many Doubtful

On Wednesday the export application from Bofors was approved by the parliamentary commission that deals with arms exports. Center Party representative Karin Soder raised certain objections against Indonesia during a voice vote. Social Democratic members Sven Andersson, Sture Ericson, and Barbro Evermo were also concerned by the Indonesian order. The Conservative Party was represented on the commission by former chairman of the Defense Committee Per Petersson and the Liberal Party by Jan-Erik Wikstrom. A formal decision will be made at a cabinet meeting on Thursday.

Pakistan, which has long purchased weapons from Sweden, will now be allowed to make more purchases because of the principle whereby Sweden attempts to treat Pakistan and India equally when the two countries are at peace. Such is the case today, as demonstrated in New Delhi when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi embraced his counterpart, President Zia ul-Haq from Pakistan.

#### Permit Lifted

In the spring of 1985, Pakistan received preliminary approval for the purchase of missiles from Sweden, but the permit was lifted when a preliminary investigation of Bofors indicated that the firm had smuggled the missile "70" to Bahrain and other countries. The order included 144 missile "70" units with sights, simulators, and at least 400 missiles. They are now basically ready for delivery from the electronics workshops in Karlskoga.

While several political youth groups and the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Association continued to protest against arms sales to India, Pakistan, and Indonesia, India will announce within several days whether Bofors or the French company Giat will receive an order for 400 howitzer 77 artillery pieces worth 8.3 billion kronor. In April Canada will decide whether it will purchase the missile "70" and 40-mm antiaircraft guns worth 4 billion kronor from Bofors or from the Swiss firm Oerlikon. If all these orders should go to Bofors, then the jobs situation at the weapons plant in Karlskoga will improve considerably.

9336

CSO: 3650/148

MILITARY

SWEDEN

## LARGE SCALE EXERCISE TO TEST AIR ATTACK ALERT SYSTEM

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 1 Mar 86 p 39

[Article: "Giant Exercise Tests Air Alert System"]

[Text] On Monday sirens will wail from the rooftops throughout a large section of the country. At that time, the Civil Defense will conduct the largest air attack alert exercise in Sweden to date. Hundreds of extra employees that have been called up and thousands of schoolchildren in Sweden will participate in the exercise.

"It is the name day of Gunborg on Monday and Gunborg is also the name of the large-scale alarm exercise on that same day," said Harry Taquist of the Civil Defense Commander's Office in Stockholm, where the entire exercise is being coordinated.

### Trial Run

The alarm is an important part of the Civil Defense system. If the public is to utilize the country's almost 60,000 shelters, then a warning must be given before an air attack occurs.

There is much work to be done before the Civil Defense sirens on the rooftops send out the alarm.

Both personnel and technology are severely tested. This is why we need a realistic trial run, according to Taquist.

About 50 command centers are manned by just over 250 Civil Defense workers who have been called up by the county governments.

When enemy planes are discovered, they are observed by the Air Force. Personnel at their air defense centers report to command centers out in the municipalities.

The exercise includes the command centers in Stockholm, Uppsala, Sodermanland, Ostergotland, Vastmanland, Orebro, and Kopparberg Counties and in parts of Jonkoping, Kalmar, and Gavleborg Counties.

## Alarm Units

Monday 3 March is also the next regular test day for Civil Defense alarm units throughout the country. They are tested on the first Monday that is not a holiday in March, June, September, and December.

In the past, the "air attack" signal has been sent. This time the new alarm signal will be sent, meaning "important message--turn on your radio!" It is actually intended for emergency situations in a war, but can also be used for peacetime emergencies, to warn the public about a leak from a chemical plant, for example.

The Civil Defense Board will complete the test, which will take place at 1500, by listening to all sirens in Stockholm, Uppsala, Gavleborg, Sodermanland, Kopparberg, and Vastmanland Counties. This will be done with the help of 1,000 schoolchildren. In addition to increased knowledge about the Civil Defense system, the pupils will also receive a small sum of money for their participation.

9336

CSO: 3650/148

MILITARY

SWEDEN

PAPER URGES CONTINUING MILITARY AVIATION INDUSTRY AFTER JAS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 16 Feb 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Flying is Necessary"]

[Text] Last week a full-scale model of the new Swedish military plane JAS-39 Gripen was presented. According to the plans, the first prototype will be test-flown next year and during the early 1990's the fighter-bomber version should begin to replace the corresponding part of the Viggen system.

The successful completion of the JAS project is of decisive significance for the Swedish military. During the 1980's, in the wake of the submarine intrusions, the importance of strengthening our antisubmarine defenses has been stressed--and rightly so. The decline of our antisubmarine capacity during the 1970's had extremely unfortunate consequences. It is now necessary to repair the results of our previous neglect.

While the navy must be given significantly greater resources, however, this must not mean that new gaps appear in other branches of the service. This is particularly true of the Air Force. A strong Air Force is of vital importance to an advanced industrialized state such as Sweden, with the populace and social functions concentrated in a small number of centers. Our invasion defenses also demand a strong Air Force that is ready to fight on short notice.

The structure of the Swedish military during and after World War II has also been characterized by a strong investment in the Air Force. When World War II began, there were painfully obvious shortcomings in the Swedish Air Force. There were few planes and the ones we had were semimodern, at best. Sweden would hardly have had a chance in the air if we had become involved in a major conflict. It also proved difficult to modernize the Air Force through purchases from abroad.

These painful experiences were the basis for the construction of our domestic air defense industry. Even during the war years, we managed to produce our own fighters and bombers. In the decades following the war, this wartime effort was continued. Sweden created an Air Force that was inferior to none, apart from those of the superpowers. With few exceptions, our Air Force was based on domestically produced planes.

There is no comparable state that has even come close to this performance. During the fifties there was a series of planes from the Saab production lines and engines produced on license by Volvo Flygmotor. We had the Tunnan, the Lansen, the Draken, and in the sixties we had the Viggen. That was an impressive demonstration of a practical policy of neutrality. The Swedish Air Force and the Swedish military aircraft industry created respect throughout the world for our security policy.

In later years we mismanaged these great national resources. The Viggen project was completed, to be sure, but the number of units was reduced. When the antidefense forces within the Social Democratic Party, led by Maj Britt Theorin, went on the attack during the 1970's, the Air Force was their first target. Among other things, this resulted in the remarkable manner in which the Social Democrats treated the JAS project and, for a time, it threatened the existence of our domestic aircraft industry.

The result of the Swedish defense policy of the past 15 years has been that the Swedish Air Force has been reduced by half. The relative strength that this branch of the service still possesses is the result of investments several decades ago. With today's allocations, the Air Force will continue to become weaker.

Breaking this trend is of vital importance to the future security policy of Sweden. The present size of the Air Force must be considered a minimum level. Resources must be made available so that the JAS can replace the Viggen and Draken plane for plane.

In addition, new trainers and light attack planes must be replaced during the 1990's, as the SK 60's must be retired. With today's allocations, it will be impossible to arm the trainers of the future. Such a trend would weaken our attack capacity perceptibly and, consequently, would be unacceptable.

The Swedish aircraft industry has been a success. Our planes have maintained a high standard and have been comparable to those of the superpowers. Many countries that are not superpowers have attempted to create their own aircraft industry, but the difficulties have been enormous. Israel may be succeeding, with massive American assistance. Israel's advanced new plane, the Lavi, will be test-flown this year.

There is no reason to write off Swedish development of military planes after the JAS. What Sweden should do, instead, is to look for suitable partners for both the JAS and other new projects. We certainly do not have so many national resources that we should unnecessarily discontinue a successful and high-technology branch of industry that is of great significance in defending our country.

9336

CSO: 3650/148

MILITARY

SWEDEN

## FIBER OPTICS SENSOR EQUIPMENT DEVELOPED FOR SUB HUNTING

Stockholm NY TEKNIK in Swedish 12 Dec 85 p 46

[Article by Hans Werner]

[Text] Fiber optics technology has not been around long but it has now come so far that the Telecommunications Agency agreed last week to purchase cables worth close to 100 million kronor from the Ericsson concern. These light-weight fibers, which give a nongalvanic connection, provide an almost unlimited frequency range.

For the last half year a test of the first fiber optics TV cable network has been under way in Nacka. There subscribers can see a total of seven TV channels via the small fibers.

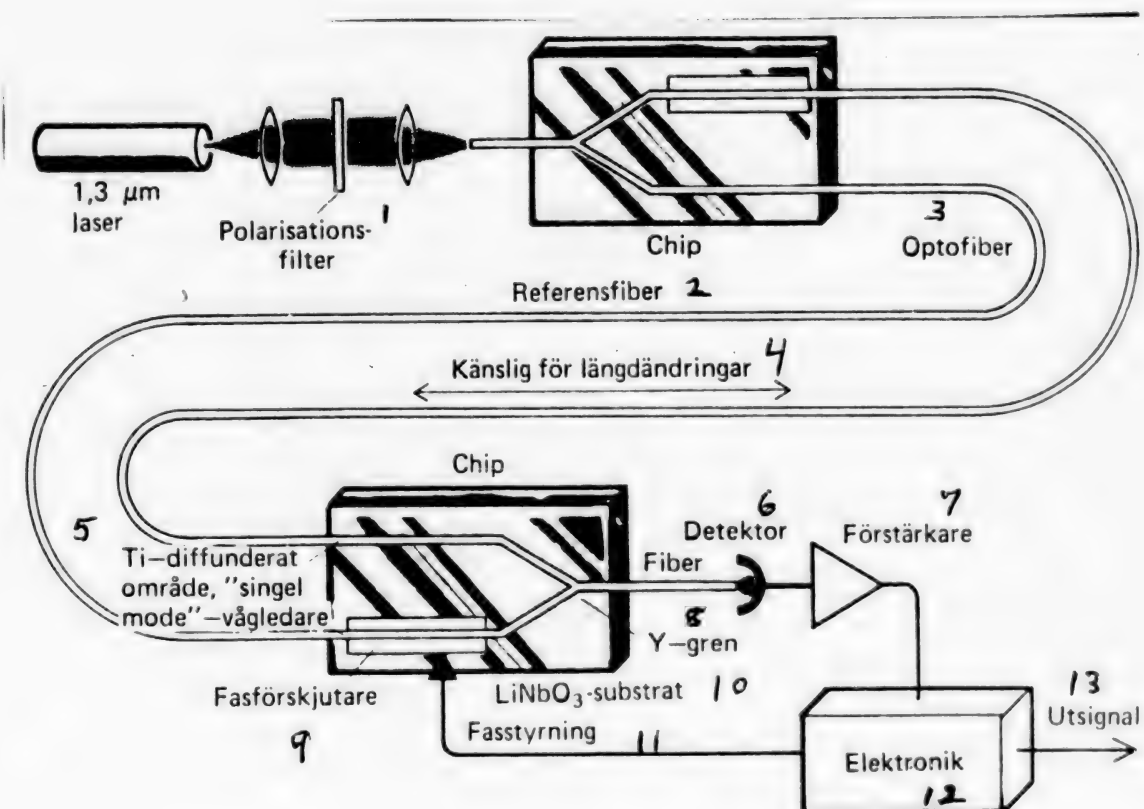
However the development of fiber optics sensors is 10 years behind the development of cables. This fact was criticized at Swedoccean's information meeting in Stockholm on fiber optics technology, especially those aspects that have marine applications.

### Bell's Light Telephone

Alexander Graham Bell actually built the first light telephone. In it modulated sunlight was sent toward a selenium cell. But it is first now with the big order from the Telecommunications Agency for fiber cables, among other things, that Swedish telephony has begun to obtain the full benefit of optical technology. Now development is aimed primarily at new sensors.

Today around half of the world's sensor market lies in the area of hydrophony, according to Gunnar Edwall of Ericsson's fiber optics division. The main emphasis is on submarine applications. In addition, gyroscopes and other equipment can be adapted for use in space and in oil drillers' logging equipment with the help of fiber optics technology. This development is particularly strong at this time in West Germany and France.

ASEA's temperature sensors and vibration sensors for process control in this new technology are domestic examples of the way in which sensor technology is now starting to develop.



This is how Ericsson's optical scientists developed one of their interferometers with the help of fiber optics technology. The equipment uses polarized light which detects phase shifts in light via integrated optical multiple switches. This provides a very accurate measurement of changes in the length of the sensor fiber. With a plastic covering the fiber functions as a passive hydrophone for such purposes as detecting submarines. If it is covered with a magnetostrictive material such as nickel the fiber is a good magnetic field sensor. If it is covered with piezoelectrical polymer, electrical fields can be measured.

Key:

- |   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. Polarization filter                              | 7. Amplifier                   |
| 2. Reference fiber                                  | 8. Y junction                  |
| 3. Optical fiber                                    | 9. Phase shifter               |
| 4. Sensitive to changes in length                   | 10. Lithium-niobium substratum |
| 5. Titanium-diffused area, "single mode" wave guide | 11. Phase control              |
| 6. Detector   | 12. Electronic equipment       |
|   | 13. Outgoing signal            |

The Ericsson concern has developed an entirely new type of semiconductor in which a current of 3 V can direct a light signal between two fibers. The alternation can occur in the gigaHertz area, or more rapidly than we can measure with today's measuring devices.

Optical fiber hydrophones can be made directional, in contrast to the broad scanning action of traditional hydrophones, according to Gunnar Edwall.

The United States is now putting a lot of emphasis on fiber optics development for military use, most of it classified, according to civil engineer Bengt Carlstrom of Kongsberg-McDermott Engineering (KME) in Asker, Norway. Among other things equipment has been developed in the form of fibers that can guide torpedoes for up to 100 km.

#### Passive Hydrophones

The really big development potential in this area of technology seems to lie in sensor development. According to Gunnar Edwall the Ericsson concern has worked on several solutions using both amplitude sensors and interferometric sensors.

For hydrophone technology the great pressure sensitivity of the sensors is of special interest. Kilometer-long fibers that are extremely sensitive to changes in length (involving thousands of a wave length in their light) can function as passive hydrophones.

Equally interesting is the fact that the new type of hydrophone can be made sensitive to direction. In this case the fibers are wound like a coil.

Other current studies involve sensors as magnetic field indicators with extremely high sensitivity. This would be of interest to scientists studying the brain and others who measure very weak magnetic fields.

At the Ericsson company they have also developed integrated optics for interferometers. This involves optical wave guides that are almost exactly analogous to electronic IC circuits. Thus they produced the new electro-optical multiple switch by diffusing titanium in a lithium-niobium sheet as a wave guide.

"Now we are up around a 10 GHz switching frequency," said Gunnar Edwall.

"We don't yet know where the limit is."

Small chips where phase modulation can be carried out are very compact and sensitive to interference. It is the general rule for fiber optics technology that there is no danger of electronic or magnetic interference.

Gunnar Edwall and Vieaturs Vucins showed how the technology is used in the form of a fiber optics Mach-Zehnder interferometer and a Sagnacinterferometer. The latter uses the gyro's sensor principle and in addition to military applications it can be used for such things as controlling industrial robots,

determining the location of vehicles, logging drill holes with gyroscopes, etc. They agreed that optical gyroscopes will soon be able to compete with mechanical gyroscopes.

#### Optical Ocean Cables

According to Bengt Carlstrom, civilian applications of fiber optics technology include such things as: guiding underwater vessels (ROV); communicating with divers; transmitting seismic information; hydrophones, especially in relation to seismic studies; position measurement of valves and as gyroscopes in deflection drilling; for stress measurements and measurements in flexible "risers," e.g. collecting pipes for oil and gas, etc.

But he also stressed the need for both sensors and good fiber optics switching devices in particular. Here if anywhere is a high-tech opportunity for innovative approaches.

But in the field of offshore technology the main thing is to convince conservative oil companies of the superiority of the new technology. There is a big risk that "state of the art" will be defined as "the year the chief graduated from technical college."

6578

CSO: 3650/162

MILITARY

SWEDEN

# PROPOSAL FOR JOINT SCANDINAVIAN AIR FORCE PILOT TRAINING

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 15 Feb 86 p 8

[Article: "Investment in Civilian Pilot Training"]

[Text] If Swedish-Norwegian-Danish civilian pilot training is to be coordinated, then it should be done by conducting basic training in the individual countries, followed by 6 months of more advanced training at the civil aviation school in Ljungbyhed.

The joint stage of training will begin on 1 January 1988, with 140 students per year.

These proposals were presented on Friday to the Scandinavian defense ministers by a Scandinavian working group that, under the leadership of county governor Eric Kronmark of Kalmar, has studied possible measures for stopping the loss of air force pilots in the various countries.

The working group was appointed after a meeting of the defense ministers in Oslo in early 1985. At the meeting, the ministers agreed that they would attempt to stop the drain of air force pilots to the civil airlines. The Swedish companies alone need about 100 new pilots each year.

A decision as to whether or not Denmark and Norway wish to participate in training according to Kronmark's model is expected this spring.

9336  
CSO: 3650/148

ECONOMIC

BELGIUM

DECLETY ON WALLOON ECONOMY, ROLE OF STATE

Brussels LE SOIR in French 4 Mar 86 p 2

[Interview with Arnaud Declety by Guy Duplat; time and place not given]

[Text] To be a newcomer when you are 52 is quite unusual. But in Arnaud Declety's life very few things are usual. The new Walloon regional minister in charge of the economy--who refuses to become an "anti-Dehousse"--has had a remarkable career in Belgian politics. A civil engineer who holds economic and political science diplomas from Parisian universities, Declety worked mainly as the manager of a large cement factory in west Hainaut, his birth-place. Then, by chance as well as through the influence of Andre Bertouille and Pierre Descamps, Declety became a senator in 1981. Today, he is not only minister, but also vice president of the executive branch, and leader of the liberal party in the Regional Assembly. Declety is certainly not a man of the Left, but he insists that he is not a conservative. He would be a radical, if this party still existed. Declety believes in private property, good management, economic rationality, dynamism, and does not like all the quarrelling that goes on in the country. "Rest assured that if the north of the country wants to dominate the other regions, it will be stopped. I am not attacking anyone, I am offering help; but I will not be manipulated," said Declety.

[Question] What is the state of the Walloon economy today?

[Answer] It is still disabled because of its past. Traditionally, large industrial sectors provided wealth and jobs. But these extremely specialized giants had clay feet and it will take years before the consequences of their demise are totally obliterated. Industrial diversification is fundamental. It is essential to avoid specialization in sectors which could be obsolete within a few years. We must also strengthen our support to the small and mid-size enterprises so that they have the necessary flexibility. These enterprises must be made to export and have access to capital investments.

[Question] Intellectually, you still belong to the private sector even though you are devoting all your time and energy to your new task?

[Answer] Because I come from the private sector, I think in terms of mid-range plans. No one knows what will happen in the long range. Politicians

are often preoccupied by short-range activities and by their reelection. This attitude has been amply illustrated by the assistance which many moribund enterprises have received in the past. These policies have favored the short-term social aspect of the problem to the disadvantage of the mid-term economic and social consequences.

[Question] Is this a criticism of those who have preceded you at the head of the Walloon economy?

[Answer] I would never criticize what others before me have done. Those measures were taken during a different era, with different tools. The budget deficit was not then what it is today, and the concept of economic crisis was still not clearly understood. Many thought that it was only a phase which would be dissolved through government assistance funds. But the economic crisis has lasted a long time, and we must now adapt ourselves to the new conditions which it has created. You can see, for instance, that the economic policies of Mr Dehousse have evolved through the years.

[Question] Guy Sorman has written "L'Etat Minimum" ("The Minimum Government"). Are you also an "anti-government liberal"?

[Answer] I am certainly a man who comes from the private sector, and I believe that managing the private sector is a lighter task than managing the public sector. We must try to return to the private sector as many industries as possible in the Walloon region. However, it would be absurd to want to eliminate the role of the government. The Regional Investment Society (SRIW) is directly or indirectly responsible for 34,000 jobs, and is doing extremely well. If the private sector has to watch over the interests of its stockholders, I believe that the public sector has the obligation to do the same. We will have to think again to improve the performance of the managers responsible for the public sector, to redefine their tasks, to reevaluate their salaries, and to select those best qualified for the job. We will have to improve the cooperation and coordination between the various public organizations: SRIW, Invest. Coordination Centers, etc.

[Question] Some Walloon initiatives have failed, like Titech. Do you feel you are an "anti-Dehousse"?

[Answer] No. I do not feel that way at all. It is impossible to criticize the private or the public sector for taking chances. And when you take chances, you may fail. The difference between the private and the public sector is that the private sector has to solve problems quickly because it has to report to its stockholders, while the public sector sometimes feels that it will not be held responsible for its eventual errors.

[Question] You remain cautious, even in the questions involving the entire country?

[Answer] I am not at all interested in the passionate and ideological aspects of the community's problems. I see only that the Flanders and Walloon

regions are each other's first customer and client. There exists an economic osmosis between the two regions, and I am very pleased with the economic prosperity of Flanders if it is not achieved to our detriment. At the same time, I am very pleased with all good economic news concerning the north of France. However, my "open-hand" policies are not naive. If, for instance, Flanders attempts to gain a larger share of public contracts, I will do all I can to oppose it.

[Question] You want to attract foreign investors?

[Answer] Certainly. We must not only attract foreign investors but ask them what they hope to gain, and learn precisely why some investors are leaving our region.

[Question] The social climate has often been a cause of these departures?

[Answer] The social climate of our region has often been wrongly accused of many problems. I have always been shocked to hear that a day of strike by Walloons is called a "day of action," when by definition a strike is non-action. I am opposed to the dogmatism of acquired rights for both the unions and the management. Conservatism can be anywhere, and it must be defeated because in a period of economic crisis nothing is sacred.

8924/6091

CSO: 3619/35

ECONOMIC

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

# INSTITUTE SAYS FIRMS TRAIN EMPLOYEES POORLY FOR HIGH TECH

Hamburg DIE WELT in German 11 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by Peter Philipps: "Deficits Reported in 'Training Center Operations'"]

[Text] Bonn. In the Federal Republic of Germany both companies and employers invest significant amounts of their own time and financial resources in continuing education. However, the results are often unsatisfactory. In its preliminary report based on a study of "training center operations," the business-oriented Institute for the German Economy (IW) has found sobering "deficits." In essence, the analysis, which was initiated by the Federal Ministry of Education, criticizes the fact that the increasing introduction of technologies is not being addressed with adequate, practice-oriented continuing education: "To be sure, companies are trying to provide the possibility for higher qualifications and broader fields of endeavor for their employees by introducing new technologies into their operations, but we don't discern any clear trend toward higher personnel qualifications."

According to current data, expenditures in the private sector for additional training increased from 80 Marks per employee in 1972 to 365 Marks in 1984. In all, company expenditures for employee training and continuing education came to almost 38 billion marks gross. If we take into consideration the price index for the gross national product, we get an actual increase of 160 percent for continuing education expenses. Nevertheless, according to the IW report, which places its main emphasis on the metals-processing industry, there is too much willy-nilly activity going on: "Training programs offered up until now have to be better integrated with each other."

The Economics Institute has pinpointed an "important potential problem in role displacement in management," which has been inadequately prepared for structural and technological change. Certainly, company leadership--both industrial supervisors as well as management--"have been informed early on of the introduction of new techniques, but only in very rare cases have they been prepared for change in their roles." Generally speaking, the new technologies require stronger company decentralization and team-work qualities, coupled with broader multi-disciplinary knowledge and management practice. However, company training is still too strongly concentrated "exclusively on the technology itself" and is not concerned enough for its organizational and social-psychological components.

Essentially the IW is recommending that "social, structural and technological changes require a redefinition of our position on continuing education." A first step in this direction would be for those responsible for continuing education "to receive more training in the underlying principles and didactics involved." The conference for "Occupation and Continuing Education--Chances and Perspectives" is intended to start a push in this direction; it will be held in two weeks in Stuttgart and is sponsored by the Educational Institutes for the German Economy, the IW, the Employers Associations and the Didacta Association, among others. Mr. Merkle, chairman of the board for Bosch, will [deliver the keynote speech] to the effect that investments in continuing education "really add up" for companies.

13127

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ECONOMIC

GREECE

#### DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK-HUNGARIAN COOPERATION SOUGHT

Athens | KATHIMERINI in Greece 4 Apr 86 p 4

/Article by N. Nikolaou: "The Greek-Hungarian Trade Transactions Are Continually Reduced"

/Text/ In recent years, Greek-Hungarian trade has been facing problems. The drop in the total trade volume between the two countries started in 1984 and continued in 1985. If no measures are taken the situation will not be improved this year either. Our imports from Hungary reach 45 million dollars while our exports to it are limited to 18 million dollars. In other words, we have an adverse balance and this naturally prevents efforts for developing our transactions.

There are two reasons for the unfavorable turn Greek-Hungarian trade has taken which, in any event, experienced a crisis right after Greece's induction into EEC which, as is known, abolished the clearing system.

The first reason is tied to the limited Greek exports which are mostly fruits and other traditional farm products. Therefore, as things stand the possibility for developing our exports are limited unless they are enriched with new dynamic products, such as the industrial ones.

At the last meeting of the Greek-Hungarian Joint Commission on 5 February in Athens, the Greek side asked the assistance of the Hungarian delegation in increasing Greek exports and even presented a list of Greek products whose export is of interest to Greece. The Hungarian side promised to study it.

There is no doubt that trade with socialist countries has many peculiarities which are not related to the activities of market mechanisms and, therefore, the Greek side correctly tries to increase our exports through bi-statal agreements. However, in the case of Hungary this is not enough. This country differs greatly from the other socialist countries in the structure of its economy as well as trade. Its market is much more open and consequently easier to approach.

In every complaint of the Greek side that our exports do not fare well, the Hungarian officials say: "To a large extent this is your problem. You must exercise a more aggressive export policy. You must make known your products

to the Hungarian market. You must develop closer relations with the Hungarian enterprises; you must use more accurate marketing and better management.

The Hungarian model is known and does not need repeating. In any case, we must note that the private sector is undergoing full development. In the area of production it may have only a 10 percent part but in the distribution its role is far greater.

I. Toldy, an official of the Chamber of Commerce (an organization representing 1,000 state enterprises) informed a group of Greek newsmen of the situation and prospects of Greek-Hungarian trade and insisted particularly on the need of increasing contacts between the two sides. He said: "Exporters from Western countries frequently come to Hungary bringing samples and prices. The Germans, especially, when a problem arises, take the plane and arrive in Budapest. They are not limited to just sending letters or to making telephone calls. They come to the very place and solve their problems."

Greek exporters share this view and told us the government must find the Hungarian firms (and there are many which work on commission) and assign to them the study of the Hungarian market and the promotion of our exports.

The second reason is due to the fact that industrial, agricultural and technological cooperation has not developed as it should between the two countries and, particularly, there is delay in setting up joint ventures.

#### Joint Ventures

The Hungarian government pays particular attention to the promotion of joint ventures and in recent years Hungarian enterprises have set up in the country more than 50 such ventures in cooperation with the largest industries or banks in America, Japan, West Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, etc. A portion of the products of these joint ventures is consumed within Hungary, while the rest is exported either to the country participating in the venture or to third countries. Therefore, the joint venture, to the degree it is developed, can be a solid and stable base for a long-term development of trade.

Unfortunately, there is only one such venture with Greek participation--OLYMPUS, Ltd.--which produces fruit juices.

The protocol signed on 5 February following the conference of the Greek-Hungarian Mixed Commission points out that both parties agreed to promote modern ways of a more permanent cooperation such as joint production and joint ventures. Certain steps have already been taken in this sector and there exist bold plans for broader cooperation. The better known of these are the following:

Joint production of port cranes. The Eleusis Shipyards and the Hungarian firm Ganz Danubius will jointly manufacture five cranes for the Salonica Port Authority.

Hospital equipment and medical machines. Following the successful outfitting of the Greek Health Centers by the Hungarian company MEDICOR, the Mixed Commission recommends to MEDICOR and other interested companies to research and use to best advantage the possibilities of joint production of hospital equipment and medical machines as well as to train personnel in handling and maintaining the equipment.

The Mixed Commission recommends also to the Hellenic Organization of Medium- and Small-Size Enterprises and Handicrafts the Hungarian companies OKISZ and MEDICOR to exploit the possibilities of cooperation in the following sectors:

a. Importing half-finished goods by the cooperative REDELKIS (construction of electronic apparatus, chemical electrodes, etc.) which will be finished in Greece and sold in Greece and abroad.

b. Joint construction of surgical beds.

Railroad stock. The two sides agreed to assist in the production in Greece, with Hungarian technical support, of rail buses for sale to third countries.

The Mixed Commission recommends to the Hellenic Organization of Medium- and Small-Size Enterprises and Handicrafts and OKISZ to exploit the possibilities of cooperation in these sectors also:

1. Sending leather to Hungary where companies will make the upper part of shoes which will be sent to Greece for finishing.

2. Establishment of a common unit for producing metal parts to leather goods.

#### Fish Hatcheries

There are also other sectors (fish cultivation, animal breeding, etc.) where the margins for cooperation are large, while the Hungarians are strongly interested in participating in the construction of large projects in Greece, the Metro, for instance. It should be noted that Budapest has a marvelous subway system and from the point of view of terrain the conditions are the same in Athens as concerns the construction of colonnades.

The aforementioned cases underline the fact that if both countries show constructive initiatives, then the trade between them can see a period of growth while the development of the two economies could be significantly promoted. Moreover, the horizons will be wider if Greek enterprises join Hungarian firms in joint ventures.

At this point we must point out that we were surprised and impressed to hear I. Toldy explain the recent Hungarian law on the protection of foreign capital. There exist full guarantees that the foreign investor can export abroad in foreign exchange not only his share of profits but the capital as well. He

also has the possibility of being the major shareholder in the joint venture. Taxation of the profits is particularly low. If the investment is considered significant the profits are exempted from taxation the first 5 years and after that period the tax is 20 percent. The other investments are subject to 20 percent tax for the first 5 years and to 30 percent thereafter until it reaches 40 percent.

At the same time Hungary begins to imitate Switzerland and now accepts deposits in exchange from foreigners whose anonymity is stringently guarded.

The Hungarian model for development offers admirable know how in many sectors and our politicians should study it carefully.

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ECONOMIC

PORTUGAL

#### NUMBER OF STRIKES DOWN IN 1985

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 14 Mar 86 p 5

[Text] The year 1985 saw the smallest number of strikes in any of the last 5 years. Of the 490 reported by the Sociology Division of the Ministry of Labor, 434 (88.6 percent) occurred in enterprises, while the other 56 (11.4 percent) were sectorial strikes. The year 1981 continues to be the "record" year for the number of strikes.

The figures on the strike movement for 1985 were released this week. Although they are only provisional, they confirm the downward strike curve following the peak which occurred in 1981. The number of strikes remained relatively stable from 1974 to 1980. During these 7 years, the average annual number was 348. In 1981, the number increased by 116.6 percent over the average for the preceding years. Since then, a more or less regular decline has been seen, although the figures have remained higher than those for the 1970s.

A decline in comparison to 1984 was seen both in enterprise strikes (470 to 434) and sectorial strikes (80 to 56).

It should be noted that the strike figures for 1984 released this week are incorrect, since they were based on the number of notifications submitted to the Ministry of Labor in advance, of which there were more than the number of strikes actually carried out.

In 1985, a total of 198,133 workers went out on strike, losing 276,233 labor days. This means that each striker lost an average of 1.4 days of work.

It is worthwhile to note the sectorial distribution of the strikes called. The basic metalworking industries and those manufacturing metal products led the list, with 235,608 workers losing 126,127 labor days. Next came construction and public projects, with 2,260 workers losing 37,338 labor days. The transportation and storage sectors ranked third, with 31,657 workers losing 36,160 labor days. The textile sector was in fourth place, with 3,185 workers losing 18,946 labor days.

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ECONOMIC

SWEDEN

BRIEFS

EXPORT CREDITS FOR IRAQ--Swedish firms have good prospects for exporting to Iraq. Despite the war with Iran, the country's economic outlook must be regarded as relatively good in the long term, writes the embassy in Baghdad in a marketing guide for the Export Council. That optimistic assessment is based partly on the fact that the Iraqi president wants to increase imports and provide more support for the private sector. Moreover, Sweden has decided to provide 700 million kronor in credit supports for Swedish export efforts in Iraq. The embassy calculates that Sweden ought to have good prospects for selling such things as equipment for the production of power and the distribution of electricity, telecommunications equipment, automobiles and trucks, agricultural machinery, and complete industrial plants. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 12 Mar 86 p 32] 11798

CS0: 3650/155

ENERGY

DENMARK

DRILLING FIRM: OIL SEARCH ACTIVITY IN NORTH SEA MAY SLOW

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 15 Mar 86 Sect III p 1

[Article by Henning Gøtz: "Stop to Oil Production"]

[Text] Yesterday A.P. Møller notified the Energy Ministry that the expansion of oil and gas production in the North Sea depends totally on future oil prices.

A.P. Møller now wants to sit down and wait for better oil prices before the company together with its partners in the Danish Substratum Consortium, DUC, increases production in the Danish section of the North Sea over and above that already planned.

Friday afternoon the Energy Ministry was notified that the Kraka oil field, which formerly went by the name Anne, as well as the Igor gas field will not be begun before "an economically supportable basis can be achieved" with a rise in oil prices.

And this will be achieved, according to A.P. Møller, at the earliest when there is a chance for a price of over \$20 a barrel for North Sea oil, the company reports, which thereby for the first time puts figures on how high the price for oil must be before future oil fields are profitable from DUC's viewpoint. The price of a barrel of oil these days is down to between \$12 and \$14 a barrel, all according to quality and delivery time, but DUC has not provided information regarding alternative plans for the already producing fields, as well as regarding development plans concerning the Dan-F and Rolf oil fields and the Roar gas field.

Incidentally, last year A.P. Møller declared to the Energy Ministry that the company wanted to exploit the Kraka and Igor fields, which are both in the vicinity of the Dan field. Yesterday was the final date for presentation of a more detailed development plan for the two fields, and the intense drop in oil prices of the last few months has accordingly made DUC now change its signals.

As far as the Igor gas field is concerned, it reads in the report to the Energy Ministry that the plans for this field also depend on a "satisfactory agreement regarding marketing of the gas" being reached with DONG [Danish Oil

and Natural Gas]. The State Danish Oil and Natural Gas Company earlier aired plans regarding purchasing gas in Norway if agreement could not be reached on an advantageous arrangement with DUC, which from now to after the turn of the century is to supply 55 billion cubic meters of gas to the Danish natural gas project.

Incidentally, DUC anticipates that henceforth a total of at least 110 billion cubic meters of gas can be produced in the consortium's section of the North Sea.

Both Kraka and Igor are--if DUC decides at a later date to begin production--to be established as so-called satellite fields, which will consist of unmanned platforms with combined recovery and production facilities.

A.P. Møller is obligated later this year to tell of DUC's development plans for the Nord-Arne [North Arne], Adda and Niels fields.

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CSO: 3613/89

ENERGY

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

#### FIRM DEVELOPS SULPHUR-FREE SYNTHETIC GAS PRODUCTION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German 7 Feb 86 p 7

[Article by re: "Coal Gasification Generates Low-Sulphur Synthetic Gas"]

[Text] Frankfurt. KHD Humboldt Wedag AG of Cologne reports that they and Sumitomo Metal Industries of Japan have developed a joint process for the gasification of even high-sulphur coal that does not require any expensive gas purification. Their continuous "molten iron puregas" process is capable of generating a nearly sulphur-free synthetic gas at 1350 to 1400 °C under a pressure of 3 bar. The process is based on the solution of carbon in molten iron, followed by carbon reaction with the gasification medium.

Carbon in the form of pulverized coal (maximum grain size 3 mm), lime with oxygen, and a carrier gas are fed into the reaction chamber either from cooled compound jets in the bottom of the refractory-lined gasification reactor or from top-blown lances. At the same time, other gasification media, such as air, steam, carbon dioxide and other substances can be introduced via the compound jets or the lance.

Humboldt Wedag also reports that the coal is then degasified in the iron bath. In this process the volatile components are cracked. Then the carbon dissolves in the molten iron and reacts with the gasification medium. The coal ash and lime forms a slag. The sulphur reacts with the lime to form calcium sulfide, which floats together with the slag in the iron bath. The raw gas produced is then cooled and purified in a boiler and dust-removal system.

According to KHD's description, the gas is almost completely de-sulphurized, so that it can be introduced without post-treatment directly as synthetic gas for methanol generation or as a clean, environmentally safe fuel in certain industrial furnaces. The gas could also be used for generating electricity in a combined gas/steam-turbine power plant.

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